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A SOURCE-BOOK

OF

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INDIAN HISTORY

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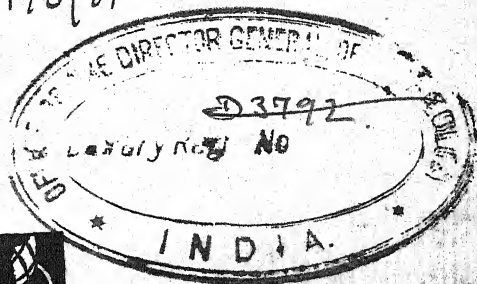
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PREFACE

There is no dearth of material for the compilation of "A Source-Book of Indian History"; yet few such books have hitherto been published, and even these few treat only of particular periods or phases.

A volume of extracts illustrative of the political, commercial, social and constitutional history of the country from the earliest times to the present day is therefore a desideratum; to supply the need, this book has been published.

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Board High School,
Kasaragod 1-7-1933.

K. Srinivas Kini,
Headmaster.

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A SOURCE-BOOK OF INDIAN HISTORY

1. THE FLOOD

1. In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing, just as now also they are wont to bring water for washing the hands. When he was washing himself, a fish came into his hands.

2. It spake to him the words: 'Rear me; I will save thee.'—'Wherefrom wilt thou save me?'—'A flood will carry away all these creatures; from that I will save thee.'—'How am I to rear thee?'

3. It said: 'As long as we are small, there is great destruction for us: fish devours fish. Thou wilt first keep me in a jar. When I outgrow that, thou wilt dig a pit and keep me in it. When I outgrow that, thou wilt take me down to the sea, for then I shall be beyond destruction.'

4. It soon became a large fish. Thereupon it said: 'In such and such a year that flood will come. Thou shalt then attend to me and prepare a ship, and when the flood has risen thou shalt enter into the ship and I will save thee from it.'

5. After he had reared it in this way, he took it down to the sea. And in the same year which the fish had indicated to him, he attended to its advice by preparing a ship; and when the flood had risen, he entered into the ship. The fish then swam up to him, and to its horn he tied the rope of the ship, and by that means he passed swiftly up to yonder northern mountain (Himalaya).

6. It then said: 'I have saved thee. Fasten the ship to a tree, but let not the water cut thee off whilst thou art on the mountain. As the water subsides, thou mayest gradually descend.' Accordingly he gradually descended, and hence that slope of the northern mountain is called 'Manu's des-

cent'. The flood then swept away all these creatures and Manu alone remained here.

7. Being desirous of offspring, he engaged in worshipping and in austerities.

—*The Shatapatha Brahmana. Trans. J. Eggling.*

NOTE. We have many traditional accounts of the story of the flood. The Matsya Purana, the Agni Purana, the Bhagavatha Purana, the Mahabharata and the Shatapatha Brahmana give more or less elaborate versions of it.

Of these versions, the earliest is that of the Shatapatha Brahmana.

2. O INDRA, DESTROY THE DASA RACE

O Indra, thou shalt speak us fair; our holy prayer is offered up.

We pray to thee for help as thou didst strike the monster Sushna dead.

Around us is the Dasyu, riteless, void of sense, inhuman, keeping alien laws.

Baffle, thou Slayer of the foe, the weapon which this Dasa wields.

Hero with Heroes, thou art ours: yea, strong are they whom thou dost help.

In many a place are thy full gifts, and men, like vassals, sing thy praise.

Urge thou these heroes on to slay the enemy, brave Thunderer! in the fight with swords.

Even when hid among the tribes of sages numerous as stars.

Swift come those gifts of thine whose hand is prompt to rend and burn, O Hero, thunder-armed:

As thou with thy companions didst destroy the whole of Sushna's brood.

Let not thine excellent assistance come to us, O Hero Indra, profitless.

May we, may we enjoy the bliss of these thy favours, Thunderer !

May those soft impulses of thine, O Indra, be fruitful and innocent to us.

May we know these whose treasures are like those of milchkine, Thunderer !

That Earth, through power of knowing things that may be known, handless and footless yet might thrive, Thou slewest, turning to the right, Sushna for every living man.

Drink, drink the soma, Hero Indra ; be not withheld as thou art good, O Treasure-giver.

Preserve the singers and our liberal princes, and make us wealthy with abundant riches.

—*The Rig Veda*—X, 22, 7-15, Indra. Trans. Griffith.

3. SONG OF THE VEDIC CULTIVATOR

We through the Master of the Field, even as through a friend, obtain

What nourisheth our kine and steeds. In such may he be good to us.

As the cow yieldeth milk, pour for us freely, Lord of the Field, the wave that beareth sweetness, Distilling meath, well-purified like butter, and let the Lords of holy Law be gracious.

Sweet me the plants for us, the heavens, the waters, and full of sweets for us be air's mid-region.

May the Field's Lord for us be full of sweetness,
and may we follow after him uninjured.

Happily work our steers and men, may the plough
furrow happily.

Happily be the traces bound; happily may he ply
the goad.

Suna and Sira, welcome ye this laud, and with the
milk which ye have made in heaven.

Bedew ye both this earth of ours.

Auspicious Sita, come thou near: we venerate and
worship thee.

That thou mayst bless and prosper us and bring us
fruits abundantly.

May Indra press the furrow down, may Pushan
guide its course aright.

May she, as rich in milk, be drained for us through
each succeeding year.

Happily let the shares turn up the ploughland,
happily go the ploughers with the oxen.

With meath and milk Parjanya make us happy.
Grant us prosperity, Suna and Sira.

—*The Rig Veda*— IV, 57. *Kshetrapati, Etc., Trans.*
Griffith.

4. VEDIC HYMN TO THE UNKNOWN GOD

In the beginning rose Hiranyagarbha, born only
Lord of all created beings.

He fixed and holdeth up this earth and heaven.
What God shall we adore with our oblation?

Giver of vital breath, of power and vigour, he whose
commandments all the Gods acknowledge:

The Lord of death, whose shade is life immortal,
What God shall we adore with our oblation?

Who by his grandeur hath become sole Ruler of all
the moving world that breathes and slumbers;
He who is Lord of men and Lord of cattle.
What God shall we adore with our oblation?

His, through his might, are these snow-covered
mountains, and men call sea and Rasa his possession:
His arms are these, his are these heavenly regions.
What God shall we adore with our oblation?

By him the heavens are strong and earth is steadfast,
by him light's realm and sky-vault are supported:
By him the regions in mid-air were measured.
What God shall we adore with our oblation?

To him, supported by his help, two armies embattled
look while trembling in their spirit,
When over them the risen Sun is shining.
What God shall we adore with our oblation?

What time the mighty waters came, containing the
universal germ, producing Agni,
Thence sprang the God's one spirit into being.
What God shall we adore with our oblation?

He in his might surveyed the floods containing productive
force and generating worship.
He is the God of gods, and none beside him.
What God shall we adore with our oblation?

Ne'er may he harm us who is earth's Begetter, nor
he whose laws are sure, the heaven's Creator,
He who brought forth the great and lucid waters.
What God shall we adore with our oblation?

Prajapati ! thou only comprehendest all these created things, and none beside thee.

Grant us our hearts' desire when we invoke thee :
may we have store of riches in possession.

—*The Rig Veda*—X, 121-Ka. Trans. Griffith.

NOTE. R. C. Dutt in his "History of Civilization in Ancient India" in speaking of this hymn remarks as follows:—

"We now see the force of the remark that the religion of the Rig Veda travels from Nature to Nature's God. The worshipper appreciates the glorious phenomena of nature, and rises from these phenomena to grasp the mysteries of creation and its great Creator."

5. THE SISUNAGAS

(642 B. C.—413 A. D.)

Sisunaga will destroy all their prestige and will be king. Placing his son in Benares he will make Girivraja his own abode. Sisunaga will reign 40 years. His son Kakavarna will obtain the earth 36 years. Ksemadharman will be king next 20 years. Ksatraujas will obtain the earth 40 years. Vimbisara will be king 20 years. Ajatasatru will be king 25 years. Darsaka will be king 25 years. After him Udayin will be king 33 years. That king will make as his capital on the earth Kusumapura on the south bank of the Ganges in his fourth year. Nandivardhana will be king 40 years. Mahanandin will be king 43 years.

These will be the 10 Sisunaga kings. The Sisunagas will endure 360 (or better, 163) years, being kings with ksatriya kinsfolk.

—F. E. Pargiter: *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.*

6. PASSAGES FROM THE JATAKAS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MARITIME ACTIVITY OF ANCIENT INDIA

(1) "There they sailed at the wind's will until they reached an island that lay in the midst of the sea."

(*Cambridge Edition—The Samudda—Vaniya-Jataka*)

(2) "Now it happened that five hundred ship-wrecked traders were cast ashore near the city of these sea-goblins."

(*Cambridge Edition—The Valahassa-Jataka*)

(3) "It happened that some merchants had got ready a ship and were casting about for a skipper..... Now there were seven hundred souls aboard the ship."

(*Cambridge Edition—The Supparaka-Jataka*)

(4) "Four months the vessel had been voyaging in far-distant regions; and now, as though endowed with supernatural powers, it returned in one single day to the sea-port town of Bharukacch."

(*Cambridge Edition—The Supparaka-Jataka*)

(5) "Having got together his stock-in-trade (*viz.* store of pearls, jewels, and diamonds) he put on board a ship with some merchants bound for Suvannabhumi, and bade his mother farewell, telling her that he was sailing for that country."

(*Cambridge Edition—The Mahajanaka-Jataka*)

(6) "One day he thought to himself, 'My store of wealth once gone I shall have nothing to give. While it is still un-exhausted I will take ship and sail for the Gold Country, whence I will bring back wealth.' So he caused a ship to be built, filled it with merchandise, and, bidding farewell to his wife and child, set his face towards the sea-port, and at mid-day he departed."

(*Cambridge Edition—The Sankha-Jataka*)

(7) "When they were come to the high seas, on the

seventh day, the ship sprang a leak, and they could not bale the water clear."

(Cambridge Edition—*The Sankha-Jataka*)

NOTE. About Indian maritime activity of this period, Mr. Kennedy writes as follows:—

"The evidence warrants us in the belief that maritime commerce between India and Babylon flourished in the 7th and 6th, but more especially in the 6th century B. C. It was chiefly in the hands of the Dravidians, although the Aryans had a share in it; and as Indian traders settled afterwards in Arabia and on the sea-coast of Africa, and as we find them settling at this very time on the coast of China, we cannot doubt that they had their settlements in Babylon also."

7. THE PERSIAN CONQUEST OF INDIA

(516 B. C.)

I (am) Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of all inhabited countries, the king of this great earth far and near, the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian, a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Arian, of Arian descent.

Says Darius the king:—By the grace of Ormazd these (are) the countries which I have acquired besides Persia. I have established my power over them. They have brought tribute to me. That which has been said to them by me they have done. They have obeyed my law. Media, Susiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Tarangia, Arachotia, Sattagydia, Gandaria, India, the Sacae Amyrgii, the Sakan bowmen, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Saparda, Ionia, the Sacae beyond the sea, the Scodrae, the Ionians who wear helmets, the Budians, the Cossaeans, the Masians, (and) the Characeni (?)

—Rawlinson: *Inscription of Darius Hystaspes at Nakhsh-i-Rustam.*

8. THE NANDAS

(413 B. C.—322 B. C.)

As son of Mahanandin by a sudra woman will be born a king, Mahapadma (Nanda), who will exterminate all ksatriyas. Thereafter kings will be of sudra origin. Mahapadma will be sole monarch, bringing all under his sole sway. He will be 88 years on the earth. He will uproot all ksatriyas, being urged on by prospective fortune. He will have 8 sons, of whom Sukalpa will be the first; and they will be kings in succession to Mahapadma for 12 years.

A brahman Kautilya will uproot them all; and, after they have enjoyed the earth 100 years, it will pass to the Mauryas.

—F. E. Pargiter: *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.*

9. THE BATTLE OF THE HYDASPES

(326 B. C.)

The Indians meanwhile had collected their horsemen from every quarter, and were riding forward to repulse Alexander's onset, when King Koinos, in accordance with his orders, appeared with his cavalry upon their rear. Seeing this the Indians had to make their cavalry face both to front and rear, the largest and best part to oppose Alexander, and the remainder to wheel round against Koinos and his squadrons. This therefore at once threw their ranks into confusion, and disconcerted their plan of operations, and Alexander, seeing that now was his opportunity while their cavalry was in the very act of forming to front and rear, fell upon those opposed to him with such vigour that the Indians, unable to withstand the charge of his cavalry, broke from their ranks, and fled for shelter to the elephants as to a friendly wall. Upon this the drivers of the elephants urged these animals forward against the cavalry! but the

Macedonian phalanx itself now met them face to face, and threw darts at the men on the elephants, and from one side and the other struck the elephants themselves as they stood around them. This kind of warfare was different from any of which they had experience in former contests, for the huge beasts charged the ranks of the infantry, and wherever they turned went crushing through the Macedonian phalanx though in close formation: while the horsemen of the Indians, on seeing that the infantry was now engaged in the action, again wheeled round and charged the cavalry. But Alexander's men being far superior in personal strength and military discipline, again routed them, and again drove them back upon the elephants, and cooped them up among them. Meanwhile the whole of Alexander's cavalry had now been gathered into one battalion, not in consequence of an order, but from being thrown together in the course of the struggle, and wherever they fell upon the ranks of the Indians they made great carnage before parting from them. The elephants being now cooped up within a narrow space, did no less damage to their friends than to their foes, trampling them under their hoofs, as they wheeled and pushed about. There resulted in consequence a great slaughter of the cavalry, cooped up as it was in a narrow space around the elephants. Many of the elephants' drivers, moreover, had been shot down, and of the elephants themselves some had been wounded, while others, both from exhaustion and loss of their mahouts, no longer kept to their own side in the conflict, but, as if driven frantic by their sufferings, attacked friend and foe indiscriminately, pushed on, trampled them down, and killed them in all manner of ways. But the Macedonians, who had a wide and open field, and could therefore operate as they thought best, gave way when the elephants charged, and when they retreated followed at their wheels and plied them with darts: whereas the Indians, who were in the midst of the animals suffered far more the effects of

their rage. When the elephants, however, became quite exhausted, and their attacks were no longer made with vigour, they fell back like ships backing water, and merely kept trumpeting as they retreated with their faces to the enemy. Then did Alexander surround with his cavalry the whole of the enemy's line, and signal that the infantry, with their shields linked together so as to give the utmost compactness to their ranks, should advance in phalanx. By this means the cavalry of the Indians was, with a few exceptions, cut to pieces in the action. Such also was the fate of the infantry, since Macedonians were now pressing upon them from every side. Upon this all turned to flight wherever a gap could be found in the cordon of Alexander's cavalry.

Meanwhile Krateros and all the other officers of Alexander's army, who had been left behind on the opposite bank of the Hydaspes, crossed the river when they perceived that Alexander was winning a splendid victory. These men, being fresh, were employed in the pursuit, instead of Alexander's exhausted troops, and they made no less slaughter of the Indians in the retreat than has been made in the engagement.

The loss of the Indians in killed fell little short of 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, and all their chariots were broken to pieces. Two sons of Poros fell in the battle and also Spitakes (Pittakes), the chief of the Indians of that district. The drivers of the elephants and of the chariots were also slain and the cavalry officers and the generals in the army of Poros all..... The elephants, moreover that escaped destruction in the field were all captured. On Alexander's side there fell about 80 of the 6000 infantry who had taken part in the first attack, 10 of the horse archers who first began the action, 20 of the companion cavalry, and 200 of the other cavalry.

When Poros who had nobly discharged his duties throughout the battle, performing the part not only of a

general but also that of a gallant soldier, saw the slaughter of his cavalry and some of his elephants lying dead, and others wandering about sad and sullen without their drivers, while the greater part of his infantry had been killed, he did not, after the manner of Darius, the great king, abandon the field and show his men the first example of flight, but, on the contrary, fought on as long as he saw any Indians maintaining the contest in a united body; but he wheeled round on being wounded in the right shoulder where only he was unprotected by armour in the battle. All the rest of his person was rendered shot-proof by his coat of mail which was remarkable for its strength and the closeness with which it fitted his person, as could afterwards be observed by those who saw him. When he found himself wounded he turned his elephant round and began to retire. Alexander perceiving that he was a great man and valiant in fight, was anxious to save his life, and for this purpose sent to him first of all Taxiles the Indian. Taxiles, who was on horseback, approached as near the elephant which carried Poros as seemed safe, and entreated him, since it was no longer possible for him to flee, to stop his elephant and listen to the message he brought from Alexander. But, Poros, on finding that the speaker was his old enemy Taxiles, turned round and prepared to smite him with his javelin: and he would have probably killed him had not Taxiles instantly put his horse to the gallop and got beyond the reach of Poros. But not even for this act did Alexander feel any resentment against Poros, but sent to him messenger after messenger, and last of all Meroes, an Indian, as he had learned that Poros and this Meroes were old friends. As soon as Poros heard the message which Meroes now brought just at a time when he was overpowered by thirst, he made his elephant halt and dismounted. Then when he had taken a draught of water and felt revived, he requested Meroes to conduct him without delay to Alexander.

He was then conducted to Alexander, who on learning that Meroes was approaching him, rode forward in front of his line with a few of the companions to meet him. Then reining in his horse he beheld with admiration the handsome person and majestic stature of Poros, which somewhat exceeded five cubits. He saw, too, with wonder that he did not seem to be broken and abased in spirit, but that he advanced to meet him as a brave man would meet another brave man after gallantly contending with another King in defence of his kingdom. Then, Alexander who was first to speak, requested Poros to say how he wished to be treated. The report goes that Poros said in reply, "Treat me, O Alexander, as befits a king," and that Alexander, being pleased with his answer, replied, "For mine own sake, O Poros! thou shalt be so treated but do thou, in thine own behalf, ask for whatever boon thou pleasest," to which Poros replied, that in what he had asked everything was included. Alexander was more delighted than ever with this rejoinder, and not only appointed Poros to govern his own Indians, but added to his original territory another of still greater extent. Alexander thus treated this brave man as befitted a king, and he consequently found him in all respects faithful and devoted to his interests. Such, then, was the result of the battle in which Alexander fought against Poros and the Indians of the other side of the Hydaspes in the month of Mounychion of the year when Hegemon was archon in Athens.

—*Arrian's Anabasis*—*Trans. McCrindle*

10. CHANDRAGUPTA AND SELEUCUS

(305 B.C.)

Seleucus Nicator waged many wars in the east after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylon, and then with his forces augmented by

victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus was the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble life but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended Nandrus and was ordered by the king to be put to death, he sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke, quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the east, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonus.

—Justin's *De Historiis Philippicis*. Trans. McCrindle.

11. THE MANNERS OF THE INDIANS

The Indians all live frugally, especially when in camp. They dislike a great undisciplined multitude, and consequently they observe good order. Theft is of very rare

occurrence. Megasthenes says that those who were in the camp of Sandrakottos, wherein lay 400,000 men, found that the thefts reported on any one day did not exceed the value of two hundred drachmae and this among a people who have no written laws, but are ignorant of writing, and must therefore in all the business of life trust to memory. They live, nevertheless, happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice-pottage. The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess good, sober sense; but other things they do which one cannot approve: for instance, that they eat always alone, and that they have no fixed hours when meals are to be taken by all in common, but each one eats when he feels inclined. The contrary custom would be better for the ends of social and civil life.

Their favourite mode of exercising the body is by friction, applied in various ways, but especially by passing smooth ebony rollers over the skin. Their tombs are plain, and the mounds raised over the dead lowly. In contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold, and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up umbrellas over them: for they have a high regard for beauty, and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom.

—*The Indika of Megasthenes. Trans. McCrindle.*

12. THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Of the great officers of state, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers. Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. They construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances. Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or, in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them. The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government. The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there

is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold. Fraud in the payment of this tax is punished with death.

Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharge. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments, and also of matters affecting the general interest, as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices, the care of the markets, harbours, and temples. Next to the city magistrates there is a third governing body, which directs military affairs. This also consists of six divisions, with five members to each. One division is appointed to co-operate with the admiral of the fleet, another with the superintendent of the bullock-trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply servants who beat the drum, and others who carry gongs; grooms also for the horses, and mechanists and their assistants. To the sound of the gong they send out foragers to bring in grass and by a system of rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with despatch and safety. The third division has charge of the foot-soldiers, the fourth of the horses, the fifth of the war-chariots, and the sixth of the elephants. There are royal stables for the horses and elephants, and also a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and his horse and his elephant to the stables. They use the elephants without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen, but the horses are led along by a halter, that their legs may not be galled and inflamed, nor their spirits damped by drawing chariots. In addition to the charioteer, there are two fighting men who sit up in the chariot beside him. The war-elephant carries four men—three who shoot arrows, and the driver.

—*The Indika of Megasthenes. Trans. McCrindle.*

13. THE DUTIES OF A KING

If a king is energetic, his subjects will be equally energetic; if he is reckless, they will not only be reckless likewise, but also eat into his works. Besides, a reckless king will easily fall into the hands of his enemies. Hence the king shall ever be wakeful.

He shall divide both the day and the night into eight *nalikas* ($1\frac{1}{2}$ hours), or according to the length of the shadow (cast by a gnomon standing in the sun): the shadow of three *purushas* (36 *angulas* or inches), of one *purusha* (12 inches), of four *angulas* (3 inches), and absence of shadow denoting midday are the four one-eighth divisions of the forenoon; like divisions (in the reverse order) in the afternoon.

Of these divisions, during the first one-eighth part of the day, he shall post watchmen and attend to the accounts of receipts and expenditure; during the second part, he shall look to the affairs of both citizens and country people; during the third, he shall not only bathe and dine, but also study; during the fourth, he shall not only receive revenue in gold (*hiranya*), but also attend to the appointments of superintendents; during the fifth, he shall correspond in writs (*patrasampreshanena*) with the assembly of his ministers, and receive the secret information gathered by his spies; during the sixth, he may engage himself in his favourite amusements or in self-deliberation; during the seventh, he shall superintend elephants, horses, chariots, and infantry; and during the eighth part, he shall consider various plans of military operations with his commander-in-chief.

At the close of the day, he shall observe the evening prayer (*sandhya*).

During the first one-eighth part of the night, he shall receive secret emissaries; during the second, he shall attend

to bathing and supper and study; during the third, he shall enter the bed-chamber amid the sound of trumpets and enjoy sleep during the fourth and fifth parts; having been awakened by the sound of trumpets during the sixth part, he shall recall to his mind the injunctions of sciences as well as the day's duties; during the seventh, he shall sit considering administrative measures and send out spies; and during the eighth division of the night, he shall receive benedictions from sacrificial priests, teachers, and the high priest, and having seen his physician, chief cook and astrologer, and having saluted both a cow with its calf and a bull by circumambulating round them, he shall get into his court.

Or in conformity to his capacity, he may alter the time table and attend to his duties.

When in the court, he shall never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he may be sure to engender confusion in business, and to cause thereby public disaffection, and himself a prey to his enemies.

He shall, therefore, personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brahmans learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted, and the helpless, and of women;—all this in order (of enumeration) or according to the urgency or pressure of those works.

All urgent calls he shall hear at once, but never put off; for when postponed, they will prove too hard or impossible to accomplish.

Having seated himself in the room where the sacred fire has been kept, he shall attend to the business of physicians and ascetics practising austerities; and that in company with his high priest and teacher and after preliminary salutation (to the petitioners).

Accompanied by persons proficient in the three sciences

(trividya) but not alone lest the petitioners be offended, he shall look to the business of those who are practising austerities, as well as of those who are experts in witchcraft and Yoga.

Of a king, the religious vow is his readiness to action; satisfactory discharge of duties in his performance of sacrifice; equal attention to all is the offer of fees and ablution towards consecration.

In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good.

Hence the king shall ever be active and discharge his duties; the root of wealth is activity, and of evil its reverse.

In the absence of activity acquisitions present and to come will perish; by activity he can achieve both his desired ends and abundance of wealth.

—*Kautilya's Arthashastra. Trans. R. Shamasastry.*

14. TRUE CONQUEST—ROCK EDICT XIII

(257 B. C.)

The Kalingas were conquered by His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King (Asoka) when he had been consecrated eight years. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were thence carried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times that number perished.

Directly after the annexation of the Kalingas, began His Sacred Majesty's zealous protection of the Law of Piety, his love of that Law, and his giving instruction in that Law (dharma). Thus arose His Sacred Majesty's remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death, and carrying away captive of the people. That is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty.

There is, however, another reason for His Sacred Majesty feeling still more regret, inasmuch as in such a country dwell Brahmans or ascetics, or men of various denominations, or householders, upon whom is laid this duty of hearkening to superiors, hearkening to father and mother, hearkening to teachers, and proper treatment of friends, acquaintances, comrades, relatives, slaves, and servants, with fidelity of attachment. To such people in such a country befalls violence, or slaughter, or separation from their loved ones. Or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, comrades, and relatives of those who are themselves well protected, while their affection is undiminished. Thus for them also that is a mode of violence. All these several happenings to men are matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty; because it is never the case that people have not faith in some one denomination or other.

Thus of all the people who were then slain, done to death, or carried away captive in the Kalingas, if the hundredth or the thousandth part were to suffer the same fate, it would now be matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty. Moreover, should any one do him wrong, that too must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty, if it can possibly be borne with. Even upon the forest folk in his dominions His Sacred Majesty looks kindly and he seeks their conversion, for (if he did not) repentance would come upon His Sacred Majesty. They are bidden to turn from evil ways that they be not chastised. For His Sacred Majesty desires that all animate beings should have security, self-control, peace of mind, and joyousness.

And this is the chiefest conquest in the opinion of His Sacred Majesty—the conquest by the Law of Piety—and this, again, has been won by His Sacred Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues—where the Greek (Yona) king named Antiochos dwells, and north of that Antiochos to

where dwell the four kings severally named Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas, and Alexander; and in the south the (realms of the) Cholas and Pandyas, with Ceylon likewise—and here too, in the King's dominions, among the Yonas, and Kambojas, among the Nabhapamtis of Nabhaka, among the Bhojas, and Pitinikas, among the Andhras and Pulindas—everywhere men follow His Sacred Majesty's instruction in the Law of Piety. Even where the envoys of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, there too men hearing His Sacred Majesty's ordinance based on the Law of Piety and his instruction in that Law, practise and will practise the Law.

And, again, the conquest thereby won everywhere is everywhere a conquest full of delight. Delight is found in the conquests made by the Law. That delight, however, is only a small matter. His Sacred Majesty regards as bearing much fruit only that which concerns the other world.

And for this purpose has this pious edict been written in order that my sons and grandsons, who may be, should not regard it as their duty to conquer a new conquest. If, perchance, they become engaged in a conquest by arms, they should take pleasure in patience and gentleness, and regard as (the only true) conquest the conquest won by piety. That avails for both this world and the next. Let all joy be in effort, because that avails for both this world and the next.

—*Shahbazgarhi Text. Trans. V. A. Smith.*

15. THE SUNGAS

(184 B. C.—72 B. C.)

Pushyamitra the commander-in-chief will uproot Brahadrath and will rule the kingdom as king 36 years. His son Agnimitra will be king 8 years. Vasujyestha will be king 7 years. His son Vasumitra will be king 10 years. Then his son Andhraka will reign 2 years. Pulindaka will then reign

3 years. His son Ghosa will be king 3 years. Next Vajramitra will be king 9 years. Bhagavata will be king 32 years. His son Devabhumi will reign 10 years.

These 10 Sunga kings will enjoy this earth full 112 years. From them the earth will pass to the Kanvas.

—F. E. Pargiter: *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.*

16. MENANDER, THE GREEK KING OF N. W. INDIA (160—140 B. C.)

The novice became the king of the city of Sagala in India, Milinda by name, learned, eloquent, wise and able; and a faithful observer, and that at the right time, of all the various acts of devotion and ceremony enjoined by his own sacred hymns concerning things past, present, and to come. Many were the arts and sciences he knew—holy tradition and secular law; the Sankhya, Yoga, Nyaya, and Vaisesika systems of philosophy; arithmetic; music; medicine; the four Vedas, the Puranas, and Itihasas; astronomy; magic, causation, and spells; the art of war; poetry; conveyancing in a word, the whole nineteen.

As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome; the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. And as in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness, and valour there was found none equal to Milinda in all India. He was rich too, mighty in wealth and property, and the number of his armed hosts knew no end.

—T. W. Rhys Davids: *Questions of King Milinda.*

17. KING KHARAVELA OF KALINGA (acc. 170 B. C. ?)

Salutation to the Arhats. Salutation to all the Siddhas. Sri Kharavela, Emperor of Kalinga, Alia, Mahameghavahana and Maharaja, possessed of virtues which have

reached the four ends (quarters), of noble and auspicious feature-marks, the agent of prosperity of the House of King Cheti.

For fifteen years, having played princely games, with a body majestic with fair-brown (complexion), and after having thoroughly learnt royal correspondence, currency, state-accounting, municipal law and dharma injunctions, and having been accomplished in all the Vidyas (arts), ruled for nine years in the office of Yuva-raja.

As the twenty-fourth year was complete, (he) who for the rest of his manhood made conquests which were accompanied with gifts and observance of dharma, obtains in the third generation of the Kalinga dynasty (the anointing called) Maharajya-abhisheka, for one generation. As soon as he was anointed, in his

1. First year, (he) repairs the Kalinga Capital of which the gates, city-walls and buildings had been destroyed by storm. He causes the construction of the embankment to the lake of Khibira-Rishi in the capital of Kalinga. (He) also gets done the restoration of all the gardens.

(He), likewise, pleases the thirty-five hundred thousand people (subjects).

2. In the Second year, disregarding Satakarni (he) despatches a large army of horse, elephant, foot, and chariot to the Western Quarter; and in aid of the Kasyapa Kshatriyas (he) causes terror to the Mushika Capital.

3. Again in the Third Year, (he) versed in the science of music (Gandharva-veda), entertains the Capital with shows of *dampa*, dances, singing and music, and by holding festivities, and Samajas.

4. Then in the Fourth Year, the Vidhyadhara-Abode which had not been damaged before, and which had been held sacred by the Former Kings of Kalinga.....

With their coronets (makutas) devoid of their significance and with their umbrellas and bhringaras (golden vases)

broken down and felled, the Leaders (of) all the Rashtrikas and Bhojakas, deprived of their ratnas, were caused by (him) to bow at his feet.

5. Then in the Fifth year, (he) brings into the capital from the Tanasuliya Road the Canal excavated by KING NANDA three centuries before or 113 years before.....

6. (In the Sixth year) anointed.....
..... showing royal favours to all the suffering ones, (he) bestows numerous privileges—by hundred and thousands—on (the corporate bodies) the Paura and the Janapada.

7. Ruling in the Seventh year,..... to obtain (?) wife Savitri (?)

8. In the Eighth year, the Ministers (?)..... at Gorathagiri (?) having got killed, (he) causes oppression to the King of Rajagriha. On account of the report (uproar) occasioned by the acts of valour (i. e. the capture of the Gorathagiri fortress and the siege of Rajagriha) the Greek King Demet (Rios) drawing in his army and transport retreated to abandon Mathura.

9. In the Ninth year he gives away a Kalpatree with leaves on, and horses, elephants and chariots with their drivers, (he gives) houses and asylums for all..... to make all those (gifts) accepted, (he) also feeds the Brahmans lavishly. Arhat

On both banks of the Prachi (river) (he) builds the royal residence the 'Palace of Great Victory' at the cost of Thirty-eight hundred thousand (coins).

10. In the Tenth year, (he) causes the departure of the army to Bharata-varsha (Upper India)..... once more (he) obtains his desired objects with the policy of war, peace and conciliation.

11. In the Eleventh year (he) leads out in procession the nim-wood formation of the immortal body (i. e., statue) of His Highness Ketu who (flourished) thirteen centuries before, which has been established by the

Former Kings in the City of Prith-udaka-darbha and which is pleasing to the Country.

12. In the Twelfth year, producing consternation amongst the kings of the Uttarapatha (Northern Punjab and Frontier countries) with and causing great panic amongst the people of Magadha, (he) makes his elephants enter the Gangeya (Palace-fort), and (he) makes the king of Magadha, Brihaspatimitra bow at his feet; the manda (throne) erected by the bad (perverse) king, he (Kharavela) ploughs with a plough drawn by big asses and he breaks the lead-bodied figure (or figures) made a century and thirteen years ago. (He) brings home the image of the first Jina..... (in plural) had been carried away by King Nanda..... (and) the home ratnas as recaptures, (and) the precious things of Anga and Magadha.

(He) establishes towers with carved interiors, for (or 'along with') gifts and captures of hundreds of precious things. (He) the capable one causes to be brought in here unprecedented and wonderful captures (or presents) of elephant-ships, also horses, elephants, (ratnas), men (?) the King of the Pandyas and gems and ratnas in hundreds (he) wins the heart of the residents of (the Kalinga capital?) with all (kinds of) presents.

13. In the Thirteenth year (he), who has fully extended his empire by conquests,..... attached to the Nishidiya in the premises of the Habitation of the Arhats on the Kumari Hill (Udayagiri), the ninety hundred sacred bulls, come from (?) the worshippers and maintained by the King kept (?) in the time of Jiva-deva.

On the Hill near the Arhat-Nishidiya, for the comfort of the virtuous Sramanas reduced and emaciated by 'Yapa' practices and for the wise ones from hundred directions (he builds) by (employing) leaders of the guilds of excellent artizans, and various contrivances in stone (he) establishes a pavilion on four columns inlaid with beryl.

In the year Hundred and Sixty-five (lit. 'century years and five with sixty intervening') of the Time of KING MURIYA (son of Mura Chandra-gupta), he causes to be made this cave, of six poles, (to be) called 'Arkasan.'

(he) is the King of Prosperity (Kshema), the King of Extension of the Empire (or, a 'King to the old People'), a King to the Bhikshus (or, though King yet a bhikshu), the King of Dharma who has been seeing to, listening to and experiencing welfare (kalyanas)

KING-KHARA-VELA-SRI, the Great Conqueror, descended from a family of the dynasty of royal sages, one who (has kept on) crushing empires, Wielder of Empire, one whose Empire remains protected, one whose chariot, standard and army could not be obstructed, Rebuilder (or, Reformer) of, one who respects every sect, one who is an expert by virtue of special qualities

—K. P. Jayaswal: *The Hathigumpha Inscription—
The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*

18. THE KANVAS

(72 B.C.—27 B.C.)

The minister Vasudeva, forcibly overthrowing the disolute king Devabhumi because of his youth, will become king among the Sungas. He, the Kanvayana, will be king 9 years. His son Bhumimitra will reign 14 years. His son Narayana will reign 12 years. His son Susarman will reign 10 years.

These are remembered as the Sungabhrtiya Kanvayana kings. These 4 Kanva brahmans will enjoy the earth; for 45 years they will enjoy this earth. They will have the neighbouring kings in subjection and will be righteous. In succession to them the earth will pass to the Andhras.

—F. E. Pargiter: *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties
of the Kali age.*

19. THE ANDHRAS

(27 B. C.—230 A. D.)

The Andhra Simuka with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Susarman, will assail the Kanvayanas and him (Susarman), and destroy the remains of the Sungas' power and will obtain this earth. Simuka will be king 23 years. His younger brother Krsna will next reign 10 years. His son Sri-Satakarni will reign 10 years. Then Purnotsanga will be king 18 years. Skandhastambhi will be king 18 years. Satakarni will reign 56 years; his son Lambodara 18 years. His son Apilaka will reign 12 years. Meghasvati will reign 18 years. Svati will be king 18 years. Skandasvati will be king 7 years. Mrgendra Svatikarna will reign 3 years. Kuntala Svatikarna will be king 8 years. Svatikarna will be king one year. Pulomavi will reign 36 years. Aristakarna will reign 25 years. Then Hala will be king 5 years. Mantala will be a powerful king 5 years. Purikasena will reign 21 years. Sundara Satakarni will reign one year. Chakora Satakarni will reign 6 months. Sivasvati will reign 23 years. King Gautamiputra will be king next 21 years. His son Puloma will reign 28 years. Satakarni will be king 29 years. Sivasri Puloma will be King 7 years. His son Sivaskandha Satakarni will be king 3 years. Yajnasri Satakarnika will reign 29 years. After him Vijaya will be king 6 years. His son Chandasri Satakarni will reign 10 years. Another of them Pulomavi will reign 7 years.

These 30 Andhra kings will enjoy the earth 460 years.

—F. E. Pargiter: *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.*

20. AN ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE TO THE WEST COAST OF INDIA

(60 A. D. or about)

"The country inland from Barygaza is inhabited by numerous tribes, such as the Arattii, the Arachosii, the

Gandaræi and the people of Poclais, in which is Bucephalus Alexandria. Above these is the very warlike nation of the Bactrians, who are under their own king. And Alexander setting out from these parts, penetrated to the Ganges, leaving aside Damirica and the southern part of India; and to the present day ancient drachmæ are current in Barygaza, coming from this country, bearing inscriptions in Greek letters, and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotus and Menander.

"Inland from this place and to the east, is the city called Ozene, formerly a royal capital; from this place are brought down all things needed for the welfare of the country about Barygaza, and many things for our trade: agate and carnelian, Indian muslins and mallow cloth, and much ordinary cloth. Through this same region and from the upper country is brought the spikenard that comes through Poclais; that is, the Caspapyrene and Paropanisene and Cabolitic and that brought through the adjoining country of Scythia; also costus and bdellium.

"There are imported into this market-town, wine, Italian preferred, also Laodicean and Arabian; copper, tin, and lead; coral and topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds; bright-coloured girdles a cubit wide; storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony, gold and silver coin, on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country; and ointment, but not very costly and not much. And for the King there are brought into those places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves, and the choicest ointments. There are exported from these places spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate and carnelian, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk cloth, mallow cloth, yarn, long pepper and such other things as are brought here from the various market-towns. Those bound for this market-town from Egypt make

the voyage favourably about the month of July, that is Epiphi."

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"Beyond Calliena there are other market-towns of this region; Semylla, Mandagora, Palæpatmæ, Melizigara, Byzantium, Togarum and Aurannoboas. Then there are the islands called Sescecrinæ and that of the Ægidii, and that of the Cænitæ, opposite the place called Chersonesus (and in these places there are pirates), and after this the White Island. Then come Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica, and then Muziris and Nelcynda, which are now of leading importance.

Tyndis is of the kingdom of Cerobothra; it is a village in plain sight by the sea. Muziris, of the same Kingdom, abounds in ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia, and by the Greeks; it is located on a river, distant from Tyndis by river and sea five hundred stadia, and up the river from the shore twenty stadia. Nelcynda is distant from Muziris by river and sea about five hundred stadia, and is of another Kingdom, the Pandian. This place also is situated on a river, about one hundred and twenty stadia from the sea."

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"They send large ships to these market-towns on account of the great quantity and bulk of pepper and malabathrum. There are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coin; topaz, thin clothing, not much; figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead; wine, not much, but as much as at Barygaza; realgar and orpiment; and wheat enough for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there. There is exported pepper, which is produced in quantity in only one region near these markets, a district called Cottonora. Besides this there are exported

great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise-shells; that from Chryse Islands, and that taken among the islands along the coast of Damarica. They make the voyage to this place in a favourable season who set out from Egypt about the month of July, that is Epiphi."

—*The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea: Trans. Schoff.*

NOTE I. Mr. Schoff identifies the places mentioned in the extract as follows:—

1. Barygaza—Broach.
2. Poclais—Charsadda.
3. Bucephalus Alexandria—Jhelum (town)
4. Damarica—The Country of the Tamils.
5. Ozene—Ujjain.
6. Caspapyrena—A town above Attock.
7. Parapanisene—The Hindu Kush mountain range.
8. Cabolitic—The Kabul valley.
9. Calliena—Kalyana.
10. Semylla—Chaul.
11. Mandagora—Bankot (?)
12. Palaepatmae—Dabhol.
13. Melizigara—Rajpur (?)
14. Byzantium—Visadrog (?)
15. Togarum—Devagarh (?)
16. Aurannoboas—Malvan.
17. Sesecrienae—The Vengurla Rocks (?)
18. Aegidii—The Island of Goa (?)
19. Caenitae—The Oyster Rocks (?)
20. White Island—Pigeon Island (?)
21. Naura—Cannanore.
22. Tyndis—Ponnani (?)
23. Nelcynda—A Village near Kottayam.
24. Cerobothra—Malabar and Cochin.

25. Muziris—Cranganore.
26. Cottonara—Part of Malabar (?)

NOTE II. The author of the "Periplus" is "an Egyptian Greek and a merchant in active trade who personally made the voyage to India."

21. KANISHKA'S COUNCIL

(125 A. D. or about)

In the four-hundredth year after the Nirvana of 'Tathagata, Kanishka, king of Gandhara, having succeeded to the kingdom, his kingly renown reached far, and he brought the most remote within his jurisdiction. During his intervals of duty he frequently consulted the sacred books of Buddha; daily he invited a priest to enter his palace and preach the law, but he found the different views of the schools so contradictory that he was filled with doubt, and he had no way to get rid of his uncertainty. At this time the honoured Parsva said, "Since Tathagata left the world many years and months have elapsed. The different schools hold to the treatises of their several masters. Each keeps to his own views, and so the whole body is torn by divisions."

The king having heard this, was deeply affected and gave way to sad regrets. After a while he spoke to Parsva and said, "Though of no account personally, yet, thanks to the remnant of merit which has followed me through successive births since the time of the Holy One till now, I have come to my present state. I will dare to forget my own low degree, and hand down in succession the teaching of the law unimpaired. I will therefore arrange the teaching of the three pitakas of Buddha according to the various schools." The honourable Parsva replied, "The previous merit of the great king has resulted in his present distinguished position. That he may continue to love the law of Buddha is what I desire above all things."

The king then summoned from far and near a holy assembly (issued an edict to assemble the holy teachers).

On this they came together from the four quarters and, like stars, they hurried together for myriads of li, men the most distinguished for talents and for holiness of life. Being thus assembled, for seven days offerings of the four necessary things were made, after which, as the king desired that there should be an arrangement of the law, and as he feared the clamour of such a mixed assembly (would prevent consultation), he said, with affection for the priests, "Let those who have obtained the holy fruit (as Arhats) remain, but those who are still bound by worldly influence let them go." Yet the multitude was too great. He then published another order: "Let those who have arrived at the condition of 'freedom from study' remain, and those who are still in a condition of learners go." Still there were a great multitude who remained. On this the king issued another edict: "Those who are in possession of the three enlightenments and have the six spiritual faculties may remain; the others can go." And yet there was a great multitude who remained. Then he published another edict: "Let those who are acquainted both with the three Pitakas and the five vidyas remain; as to others, let them go." Thus there remained 499 men. Then the king desired to go to his own country as he suffered from the heat and moisture of this country. He also wished to go to the stone grot at Rajagriha, where Kasyapa had held his religious assembly (convocation). The honourable Parsva and others then counselled him, saying, "We cannot go there, because there are many heretical teachers there, and different Sastras being brought under consideration, there will be clamour and vain discussion. Without having right leisure for consideration, what benefit will there be in making (fresh) treatises? The mind of the assembly is well affected towards this country; the land is guarded on every side by mountains, the Yakshas

defend its frontiers, the soil is rich and productive, and it is well provided with food. Here both Saints and Sages assemble and abide; here the spiritual Rishis wander and rest."

The assembly having deliberated, they came to this resolution: "We are willing to fall in with the wishes of the king." On this, with the Arhats, he went from the spot where they had deliberated to another, and there founded a monastery, where they might hold an assembly (for the purpose of arranging) the Scriptures and composing the Vibhasha Sastra.

—*Beal: Hiuen Tsiang's Siyuki.*

22. SAMUDRAGUPTA

(330 A.D.—375 A.D.)

This lofty column (is) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming the fame,—which, having pervaded the entire surface of the earth with (its) development that was caused by (his) conquest of the whole world, (has departed) hence (and now) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (his) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods, of the Maharajadhiraja, the glorious.

Who, being looked at (with envy) by the faces, melancholy (through the rejection of themselves), of others of equal birth, while the attendants of the court breathed forth deep sighs (of happiness), was bidden by (his) father who exclaiming "Verily (he is) worthy", embraced (him) with the hairs of (his) body standing erect (through pleasures) (and thus) indicative of (his) sentiments, and scanned (him) with any eye turning round and round in affection, (and) laden with tears (of joy), (and) perceptive of (his noble) nature,—(to govern of a surety) the whole world:—

By whom,—having, unassisted with the force of the prowess of (his) arm that rose up so as to pass all bounds,

uprooted ACYUTA and NAGASENA.....; (by whom), causing him who was born in the family of KOTAS to be captured by (his) armies, (and) taking his pleasure at the (city) that had the name of PUSHPA, while the sun..... the banks

(Of whom it used to be said),—"The building of the pale of religion; fame as white as the rays of the moon, (and) spreading far and wide; wisdom that pierced the essential nature of things;..... calmness.....; the path of the sacred hymns, that is worthy to be studied; and even poetry, which gives free vent to the power of the mind of poets; (all these are his), (in short) what (virtue) is there that does not belong to him, who alone is a worthy subject of contemplation for those who can recognise merit and intellect?"—

Who was skilful in engaging in a hundred battles of various kinds; whose only ally was the prowess of the strength of his own arm;—who was noted for prowess; whose most charming body was covered over with all the beauty of the marks of a hundred confused wounds, caused by the blows of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javelins for throwing, iron arrows, *vaitastikas*, and many other (weapons):—

Whose great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by (his) glory produced by the favour shewn in capturing and then liberating MAHENDRA of KOSALA, VYAGHRARAJA of MAHAKANTARA, MANTA-RAJA of KURALA, MAHENDRA of PISHTAPURA, SVAMIDATTA of KOTTURA on the hill, DAMANA of ERANDAPALLA, VISHNUGOPA of KANCHI (?), NILA-RAJA of AVAMUKTA, HASTIVARMAN of VENGI, UGRASENA of PALAKKA, KUBERA of DEVARASHTRA, DHANAMJAYA of KUSTHALAPURA, and all other kings of the region of the South:—

Who abounded in majesty that had been increased by

violently exterminating Rudradev Matila, Nagadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapatinaga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman, and many other kings of (the land of) Aryavarta;—who made all the kings of the forest countries to become (his) servants:—

Those imperious commands were fully gratified, by giving all (kinds of) taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance, by the frontier-kings of Samatata, Davaka, Kamarupa, Nepala, Kartripura, and other (countries), and by the Malavas, Arjunayanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Abhiras, Prarjunas, Sanakanikas, Kakas, Khara-parikas, and other (tribes):—

Whose tranquil fame, pervading the whole world, was generated by establishing (again) many royal families, fallen and deprived of sovereignty;—whose binding together of the (whole) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (his) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuda tokens, (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his) commands, etc., (rendered) by the Daivaputras, Shahis, Shahanushahis, Sakas, and Murundas, and by the people of Simhala and all (other) dwellers in islands;—who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world;—who, by the overflow of the multitude of (his) various virtues adorned by a hundred good actions, rubbed out the fame of other kings with the soles of (his) feet;—who, being incomprehensible, was the spirit that was the cause of the production of the good and destruction of evil;—who, being full of compassion, had a tender heart that could be won over simply by devotion and obeisance;—who was the giver of many hundreds of thousands of cows;—

Whose mind busied itself with the support and initiation, etc. of the miserable, the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted; who was the glorified personification of kindness to

mankind; who was equal to the (gods) Dhanada and Varuna and Indra and Antaka; whose officers were always employed in restoring the wealth of the various kings who had been conquered by the strength of his arms;

Who put to shame (Kasyapa) the preceptor of (Indra) the lord of the gods, and Tumburu and Narada, and others, by (his) sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accomplishments;—who established (his) title of 'king of poets' by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people; whose many wonderful and noble deeds are worthy to be praised for a very long time;

Who was a mortal only in celebrating the rites and the observances of mankind, (but was otherwise) a god, dwelling on the earth;—who was the son's son of the son's son of the Maharaja, the illustrious GUPTA;—who was the son's son of the Maharaja, the illustrious Ghatotkacha;—who was the son of the Maharajadhiraja, the glorious Chandragupta, (and) the daughter's son of Lichchavi, begotten on the Mahadevi Kumaradevi;

(And) whose fame,—ever heaped up higher and higher by the development of (his) liberality and prowess of arm and composure and (study of) the precepts of the scriptures, travelling by many paths, purifies the three worlds, as if it were the pale yellow water of the (river) Ganga, flowing quickly on being liberated from confinement in the thickets of the matted hair of (the God) Pasupati.

And this poetical composition,—(the work) of the Khadya-tapakika, the son of the Mahadandanayaka Dhruvabhuti, the Samdhivigrahaika and Kumaramatya, the Mahadandanayaka Harishena, who is the slave of these same feet of the Bhattaraka, (and) whose mind is expanded by the favour of constantly walking about in (his) presence,—let it be for the welfare and happiness of all existing beings!

And the accomplishment of the matter has been effected

by the Mahadandanayaka Tilabhattaka, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattacharaka.

—*Fleet: The Allahabad Inscription.*

—*The Gupta Inscriptions.*

23. FA-HIEN'S ACCOUNT OF "THE KINGDOM OF THE MIDDLE"

(406 A.D.—411 A.D.)

The country to the south of this is called the Kingdom of the Middle. In the kingdom of the Middle the cold and the heat are temperate and moderate each other: there is neither frost nor snow. The people live in abundance and in happiness. They know neither registers of the population, nor magistrates, nor laws. Those who cultivate the lands of the king alone gather the produce. When any wish to depart, they depart; when they wish to stay, they stay; To govern them the kings require not the apparatus of (painful) punishments. If any one be guilty of a crime, he is simply mulcted in money and in this they are guided by the lightness or the gravity of his offence. Even when by relapse a malefactor commits a crime, they restrict themselves to cutting off his right hand, without doing him any further harm. The ministers of the king and those who assist to the right and to the left, all receive emoluments and pensions. The inhabitants of that country kill no living being; they drink no wine, and eat neither garlic nor onions. We must except only the Chen Chhalo (chandal); the name Chen Chhalo signifies hateful. Those have dwellings separate from other men. When they enter a town or a market they strike upon a piece of wood to make themselves known; at this signal all the inhabitants avoid them, and secure themselves against contact. In this country they keep neither swine nor cocks. They sell no living animals; there are in the markets neither shambles nor wine shops. For money

they use shells. The Chen Chhalo alone go to the chase, and sell meat.

—*Remusat, Klaproth and Landresse: Foe Koue Ki.*

24. DEFEAT OF MAHIRAKULA

(528 A.D.)

Some centuries ago there was a king called Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo (Mahirakula), who established his authority in this town (Sakala) and ruled over India. He was of quick talent, and naturally brave. He subdued all the neighbouring provinces without exception. In his intervals of leisure he desired to examine the law of Buddha, and he commanded that one among the priests of superior talent should wait on him. Now it happened that none of the priests dared to attend to his command. Those who had few desires and were content, did not care about distinction; those of superior learning and high renown despised the royal bounty (glitter). At this time there was an old servant in the king's household who had long worn the religious garments. He was of distinguished ability and able to enter discussion, and was very eloquent. The priests put him forward in answer to the royal appeal. The king said, "I have a respect for the law of Buddha, and I invited from far any renowned priest (to come and instruct me), and now the congregation have put forward this servant to discuss with me. I always thought that amongst the priests there were men of illustrious ability; after what has happened to-day what further respect can I have for the priesthood?" He then issued an edict to destroy all the priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the law of Buddha, and to leave nothing remaining.

Baladitya-*raja*, king of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha and tenderly nourished his people. When he heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mahirakula (Ta-tso), he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Then Mahirakula raised an

army to punish his rebellion. Baladitya-raja, knowing his renown, said to his ministers, "I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them (their troops); by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass."

Having said this, he departed from his palace and wandered through the mountains and deserts. Being very much beloved in his kingdom, his followers amounted to many myriads, who fled with him and hid themselves in the island of the sea.

Mahirakula-raja, committing the army to his younger brother, himself embarked on the sea to go to attack Baladitya. The king guarding the narrow passes, whilst the light cavalry were out to provoke the enemy to fight, sounded the golden drum, and his soldiers suddenly rose on every side and took Mahirakula alive as captive, and brought him into the presence of Baladitya.

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Then Baladitya-raja obeying his dear mother's command, had pity on the prince bereft of his kingdom; gave him in marriage to a maiden and treated him with extreme courtesy. Then he assembled the troops he had left and added a guard to escort him from the island.

Mahirakula-raja's brother having gone back, established himself in the kingdom. Mahirakula having lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts, and going northwards to Kashmir, he sought there an asylum. The king of Kashmir received him with honour, and moved with pity for his loss, gave him a small territory and a town to govern. After some years he stirred up the people of the town to rebellion, and killed the king of Kashmir and placed himself on the throne. Profiting by this victory and the renown it got him, he went to the west, plotting against the kingdom of Gandhara. He set some soldiers in ambush and took and killed the king. He exterminated the royal family

and the chief minister, overthrew the stupas, destroyed the sangharamas, altogether one thousand six hundred foundations

At the time of his death there was thunder and hail and thick darkness; the earth shook and a mighty tempest raged. Then the holy saints said in pity, "For having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has now fallen into the lowest hell, where he shall pass endless ages of revolution."

—*Beal: Hiuen Tsiang's Siyuki.*

25. HARSHA OF KANAUJ

(606 A.D.—647 A.D.)

From this, going north-west 200 li, we come to Kie-jio-she-kwo (Kanauj).

This kingdom is four thousand li in circuit; the capital borders on the Ganges on the west; it is about twenty li in length, and five or six li across.

There are about 100 Sangharamas and 10,000 priests. The priests study the Great and Small Vehicles promiscuously.

The king is a Bais Rajput. His name is Harshavardhana; his father's name was Prakaravardhana; his senior brother was called Rajyavardhana. Harshavardhana, the present king, is virtuous and patriotic; all people celebrate his praises in songs.

At the time (when Rajyavardhana was on the throne) the king of Karna-survarna, in Eastern India, whose name was Sasanka-rajā, hating the superior military talents of this king, made a plot and murdered him.

Then the great minister Bhani and the subordinate officers, afflicted to see the people without a ruler, agreed to place on the throne his younger brother Siladitya. His royal appearance and demeanour were recognised, in conjunction with his vast military talents. His qualifications moved

heaven and earth; his sense of justice was admired by Devas and men. He was soon able to avenge the injuries received by his brother, and to make himself master of India. His renown was spread abroad everywhere, and all his subjects revered his virtues. The empire having gained rest, then the people were at peace.

On this he put an end to warlike expeditions, and began to store up in the magazines, the lances and swords. He gave himself up to religious duties; he prohibited the slaughter of any living creature. He himself set the example, and ordered all his people to abstain from meat, and he founded Sangharamas wherever there were sacred traces of religion.

Yearly during three or seven days (or, perhaps, during three seven-days, i. e., three weeks) he provided food for the whole body of priests.

Every fifth year he convoked a grand assembly of deliverance (Maha-moksha-parishad), and distributed the stores of his treasuries in charity. To describe all his conduct would be but to tell again the deeds of Sudana.

—*Beal: Shaman Hwui Li's Life of Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang).*

26. THE UNIVERSITY OF NALANDA

The Nalanda monastery is the same as the "charity without intermission" monastery. The tradition of the old people is this:—To the south of the convent, in the middle of an Amra garden, is a pool. In this pool is a Naga called Nalanda, and the convent built by the side of the pool is therefore called after his name. Again there is a saying that Tathagata whilst a Budhisattva was the king of a great country and built his capital in this place. He was deeply affected towards the orphans and destitute, and, ever moved by this principle, gave away all he had for their good. In

memory of this goodness they named the place "doing charitable acts without intermission."

The place was originally the garden of the lord (Shreshtin) Amra (or Amara). Five hundred merchants bought it for ten lacs of gold pieces, and presented it to Buddha. Here Buddha preached the law for three months, and most of the merchants obtained the fruit of Arhatship, in consequence.

After the Nirvana of Buddha, six kings in connected succession added to these structures.

Moreover, the whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall, which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle (of the Sangharama). The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning), and the upper rooms tower above the clouds.

From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds (produce new forms), and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the sun and moon (may be observed).

And then we may add how the deep, translucent ponds bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with the Kie-ni (Kanaka) flower, of deep red colour, and at intervals the Amra groves spread over all their shade.

All the outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades; these things add to the beauty of the scene.

The Sangharamas of India are counted by myriads, but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height. The priests, belonging to the convent, or strangers (residing

therein) always reach to the number of 10,000, who all study the Great Vehicle, and also (the works belonging to) the eighteen sects, and not only so, but even ordinary works, such as the Vedas and other books, the Hetuvidya, Sabdavidya, the Chikitsavidya, the works on Magic (Atharva veda), the Sankhya; besides these they thoroughly investigate the "Miscellaneous" works. There are 1000 men who can explain twenty collections of Sutras and Sastras; 500 who can explain thirty collections, and perhaps ten men, including the Master of the Law, who can explain fifty collections. Silabhadra alone has studied and understood the whole number. His eminent virtue and advanced age have caused him to be regarded as the chief member of the community. Within the Temple they arrange every day 100 pulpits for preaching, and the students attend these discourses without any fail, even for a minute (an inch shadow on the dial).

The priests dwelling here, are, as a body, naturally (or, spontaneously) dignified and grave, so that during the 700 years since the foundation of the establishment, there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules.

The king of the country respects and honours the priests, and has remitted the revenues of about 100 villages for the endowment of the convent. Two hundred householders in these villages, day by day, contribute several hundred piculs of ordinary rice, and several hundred catties in weight of butter and milk. Hence the students here, being so abundantly supplied, do not require to ask for the four requisites. This is the source of the perfection of their studies, to which they have arrived.

—Beal: *Shaman Hwui Li's Life of Hiuen Tsiang.*

27. HIUEN TSIANG'S ACCOUNT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF LAW IN INDIA

With respect to the ordinary people, although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable.

In money matters, they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises. In their rules of government there is remarkable rectitude, whilst in their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness. With respect to criminals or rebels, these are few in number, and only occasionally troublesome. When the laws are broken or the power of the ruler violated, then the matter is clearly sifted and the offenders imprisoned. There is no infliction of corporal punishment; they are simply left to live or die, and are not counted among men. When the rules of propriety or justice are violated, or when a man failed in fidelity or filial piety, then they cut his nose or his ears off, or his hands and feet, or expel him from the country or drive him out into the desert wilds. For other faults, except these, a small payment of money will redeem the punishment. In the investigation of criminal cases there is no use of rod or staff to obtain proofs (or guilt). In questioning an accused person, if he replied with frankness the punishment is proportioned accordingly; but if the accused obstinately denies his fault, or in despite of it attempts to excuse himself, then in searching out the truth to the bottom, when it is necessary to pass sentence, there are four kinds of ordeal used—(1) by water, (2) by fire, (3) by weighing, (4) by poison.

When the ordeal is by water, then the accused is placed in a sack connected with a stone vessel and thrown into deep water. They then judge of his innocence (truth) or guilt in this way—if the man sinks and the stone floats he is guilty; but if the man floats and the stone sinks then he is pronounced innocent.

Secondly, by fire. They heat a plate of iron and make the accused sit on it, and again place his feet on it, and apply

it to the palms of his hands; moreover, he is made to pass his tongue over it; if no scars result, he is innocent; if there are scars, his guilt is proved. In case of weak and timid persons who cannot endure such ordeal, they take a flower-bud and cast it towards the fire; if it opens, he is innocent; if the flower is burnt, he is guilty.

Ordeal by weight is this: A man and a stone are placed in a balance evenly; then they judge according to lightness or weight. If the accused is innocent, then the man weighs down the stone, which rises in the balance; if he is guilty, the man rises and the stone falls.

Ordeal by poison is this: They take a ram and make an incision in its right thigh; then mixing all sorts of poison with a portion of the food of the accused man, they place it in the incision made in the thigh (of the animal); if the man is guilty, then the poison takes effect and the creature dies; if he is innocent, then the poison has no effect; and he survives.

By these four methods of trial the way of crime is stopped.

—Beal: *Hiuen Tsiang's Siyuki*.

28. PULAKESIN II

(608 A.D.—642 A.D.)

Welfare.

Victorious is Vishnu, manifested in the form of a boar, who agitated the ocean, and on the tip of whose uplifted tusk rested the earth. The son of the prosperous king Kirtivarman,—the stay of truth, whose body was purified by the closing ablutions of the Asvamedha sacrifice, and who was the ornament of the race of the Chalukyas, who are prosperous, belong to the gotra of Manu, which is praised by the whole world, are the sons of Hariti, are bred up by the seven goddesses of the world, resembling seven mothers, have obtained a succession of blessing through the protec-

tion of Karttikeya, to whom all kings become subject immediately they see the Boar standard, obtained by the favour of the divine Narayana,—was the great devotee if Mahesvara, the prosperous Pulakesivallabha, whose lotus-like feet were subject to the friction of the borders of the crowns of many hundred kings, whose firmness was as great as that of the Meru, the Malaya, and the Mandara; whose forces consisting of excellent elephants, chariots, horses, and foot-soldiers were daily increasing; who won back his own dominions and conquered the three old kingdoms of Chera, Chola, and Pandya, by (seated on the back of) the one excellent horse named Kantha-Citra, whose speed was as great as that of the mind; who obtained a new title by defeating Sri-Harsa, the Lord of the northern country; and who meditated on the feet of Nagavardhana. His younger brother was the prosperous king Jayasimha-varman, who conquered all the allies of his enemies, and was the support of the world. His son the prosperous king Nagavardhana, the stay of the three worlds, informs all coming, present, and future kings:—"Be it known to you that we have, by pouring water, granted, at the request of Balamma Thakkura, for the worship of Kapalesvara by offerings of Guggula, and for the benefit of the great ascetics residing there (in the temple), with a view to the increase of the religious merit and fame of our mother, father, and of ourselves, (the village of) Balegrama, situated in the district of Goparastra, with the things growing on it, and with appurtenances, not to be entered on (interfered with) by officers and soldiers, and (the gift) to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth endure. Therefore, future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind that life is as transient as the autumnal clouds, should respect this our gift, and continue it. The revered Vyasa has said, "Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth, but the fruit is reaped only by him who owns it, and at the time when he

owns it. He who takes away the land given by himself or others lives as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years."

—A *Copper Plate Grant*. Trans. R. G. Bhandarkar—
Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

29. PASSAGES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CULTURAL, COMMERCIAL AND COLONISING ACTIVITIES OF THE HINDUS FROM THE THIRD CENTURY A. D. TO THE EIGHTH CENTURY A. D.

(a) Kaundinya was at first a brahmin of India. A supernatural voice told him, "You must go and reign in Funan." Kaundinya rejoiced in his heart. In the south, he reached Pan-pan. The people of Funan heard of it. The whole kingdom arose with enthusiasm, came to meet him and chose him as their king. He changed all the rules according to the custom of India. (End of the Fourth Century).

(*The Leang Shu—Trans. L. Finot—quoted in the Indian Historical Quarterly for December 1925*).

(b) The hurricane having lasted thirteen days and thirteen nights, they came to the shore of an island; and when the tide had ebbed, having discovered the place of the leak, they stopped it up, and again put to sea. There are many pirates there, from whom, when taken, there is no escape. The sea was vast, immense, shoreless; neither the east nor the west were known; the course was regulated by the sun, the moon, and the stars. When the weather was cloudy or rainy, there was no help but to follow the wind. During the night when the weather was dark, they saw nothing but huge waves dashing against each other, fire-coloured lightnings, tortoises, crocodiles, sea-monsters, and other prodigies. The merchants were much troubled, as they knew not whither they were drifting. The sea was bottomless, and there was not even a rock at which they could stop. When

the sky had become serene, they then knew to steer easterly, and they proceeded afresh on their route; but had they come upon any hidden rock there was no means of saving their lives. Thus was it with them for ninety days, when they arrived in the kingdom of Ye-pho-thi (Java). Heretics and Brahmans are numerous there, and there the law of Foë is in no wise entertained.

(*Fa Hian's Pilgrimage*).

(c) There was a (king) called Gaṅgaraja, whose learning and heroism were celebrated as royal qualities. (Leaving) the throne, which is hard to leave.....“it is a great joy, which arises from the sight of the Ganges” said he, and he departed from here, i. e., Amravati in Indo-China.—(First half of the Fifth Century A. D.)

(*L. Finot, the Notes d'epigraphie of Annam—Quoted in the Indian Historical Quarterly for December 1925*).

(d) “Salutations to the blessed, the noble Tara! (The Buddhistic Goddess). May Tara the only Saviour of the Universe, who, seeing men sunk in the sea of life which is full of immeasurable misery, formally delivers them by (resorting to) the three means, give you the desired essence of the glory of the world of the Lord of the Gods, and of men. Having prevailed upon the great King Panamakarana by..... the Preceptor of King Sailendra caused a splendid temple of Tara to be constructed. At the command of the Preceptor, the grateful ones made (an image of) the goddess Tara and constructed that temple and also a house (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests (Bhiksus) who knew the Great Vehicle (Mahayana) of discipline. By the king's mandate issued in the names of Pankura, Tavana, and Tirisa, the temple of Tara was caused to be constructed and also this (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests. The meritorious Preceptor of King Sailendra constructed the temple of Tara during the prosperous reign of the king, the son of Sailendravarma. The great King Panamakarana built

the temple of Tara to do honour to the Preceptor, after seven hundred years of the era of the Saka king had elapsed. A village of the name of Kolaga (sa?) has been granted to the congregation, the eminent men and leaders of the country, Panakura, Tavana, and Tirisa being called to witness. This incomparable Daksina (gratuity) in the shape of land has been granted to the congregation by the lion-like king. It should be continued by the kings (of the race of) Sailendravarma to successive bodies of the honoured ones (Bhiksus), and by the wise Panakura and others, the good Tavana and others, the wise Tirisa and others, and the virtuous foot-soldiers. Moreover, the lion-like king again and again begs of all future kings, that this bridge in the shape of charities which is common to all men should be preserved by them from time to time. By the religious merit resulting from this monastery, may all people who follow the teaching of the Jinās derive a knowledge of the divisions of things produced by the chain of causes, and attain prosperity ! The prosperous Kaliyana Panamakarana begs again and again of future kings to preserve the monastery in the proper manner."

[A Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java (8th century): *Trans. R. G. Bhandarkar*].

NOTE. Many authorities may be cited to support the statement that India during this period and even after, was a great commercial and colonising power.

Extracts from the writings of a few of them are given below:—

1. "The splendid remains at Amravati show that from the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari the Buddhists of North and North-West India colonised Pegu, Cambodia, and eventually the island of Java."

(*Dr. Fergusson—Indian Architecture*).

2. "From the seaports of her eastern and western coasts, India sent streams of colonists, missionaries, and

craftsmen, all over Southern Asia, Ceylon, Siam, and far-distant Cambodia."

(*E. B. Havell—Indian Sculpture and Painting*).

3. "Down to the days of the Mohammedan conquest went, by the ancient highways of the sea, the intrepid mariners of the Bengal coast, founding their colonies in Ceylon, Java, and Sumatra, and binding Cathay (China) and India fast in mutual intercourse."

(*K. Okakura: Ideals of the East*).

4. "If the preceding names testify to the propagation of the Indians to Further India and to the Indian archipelago, two others lead us to the undeniable suspicion that Brahmans had settled in the south-eastern China."

(*Lassen's History of Indian Commerce.—Trans.*

K. P. Jayaswal and A. P. Banerji-Sastri).

5. "A roll of names of foreigners has been handed down to us who came from India, from the Himalayan states, and from Central Asia, to take charge of Buddhism in China."

—*Hackmann*.

6. "It was not until 335 A. D. that the Chinese people were allowed to take Buddhist orders. This permission was due to the influence of a remarkable Indian priest, named Budhachinga, who reached the capital in 310 A. D. A further great impetus to the spread of this religion was given by the arrival, about the year 385, of Kumarajiva."

—*Giles*.

7. "In the year 525 (Saka era = 603 A. D.), it being foretold to a king of Gujarat that his country would decay and go to ruin, he resolved to send his son to Java. He embarked with about 5000 followers in 6 large and about 100 small vessels. The prince now found that men alone were wanting to make a great and flourishing state. He accordingly applied to Gujarat for assistance, when

his father, delighted at his success, sent him a reinforcement of 2000 people."

(*Sir Stamford Raffles—History of Java*).

8. "According to the united testimony of all who have written about the island, Central Java is full of statues, inscriptions and ruins of buildings, all of them vestiges of the flourishing Hindu civilization of the island. The sculptures and detailed ornamentation of the finest building, the Boro Buddor, present such close resemblance to those in the Nasik, Ajanta and Kenari caves, that in the opinion of the late Dr. Fergusson, it points to an identity of workmanship and workmen."

(*R. G. Bhandarkar—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVII*).

9. "As regards the intercourse with Japan, which also developed during this period, we have a few conclusive facts and evidences to adduce. Japanese tradition records the names of Indian evangelists who visited Japan to propagate the Buddhistic faith.

But India contributed not only to the religion of Japan but also to her industry. The official annals of Japan record how eleven centuries ago cotton was introduced to Japan by two Indians."

—*Radhakumud Mookerji—A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity.*

30. CONQUEST OF SIND

(712 A. D.)

(Muhammad Kasim's Letter to Hajjaj, son of Yusuf stating particulars.)

In the name of the most merciful God, to the most exalted court of the noblest of the world, the crown of religion, and protector of 'Ajam and Hind, Hajjaj, son of Yusuf—from the humble servant Muhammad Kasim greeting. After

compliments, he represents that this friend, with all his officers, equipage, servants, and divisions of the Musulman army, is quite well, affairs are going on well, and a continuance of happiness is attained. Be it known to your bright wisdom that, after traversing deserts and making dangerous marches, I arrived in the territory of Sind, on the banks of the Sihun, which is called Mihran. That part of the territory which is around Budhiya, and is opposite the fort of Baghrur (Nirun) on the Mihran, is taken. This fort is in the country of Alor, which belonged to Dahir Rai. Some of the people who resisted have been taken prisoners and the rest through fear have fled away. As the imperative orders of Amir Hajjaj were received, directing me to return, we have returned to the fort on the hill of Nirun, which is very near to the capital. It is hoped that with the Divine assistance, the royal favour, and the good fortune of the exalted prince, the strongest forts of the infidels will be conquered, the cities taken and our treasures replenished. The forts of Siwistan and Sisam have been already taken. The nephew of Dahir, his warriors, and principal officers have been despatched and the infidels converted to Islam or destroyed. Instead of idol temples, mosques and other places of worship have been built, pulpits have been erected, the Khutba is read, the call to prayers is raised, so that devotions are performed at the stated hours. The takbir and praise to the Almighty God are offered every morning and evening.

—*History of India as told by its own historians—*

Chach-Nama: Trans. Elliot and Dowson.

31. VIKRAMADITYA CHALUKYA

(1076-1126)

In course of time, TAILAPA (973-997) became the ornament of the Chalukya race, a mighty warrior, who utterly destroyed 'those thorns of the earth', the Rashtrakutas.

After him ruled SATYASRAYA (927-1008), who surpassed

Bārgava in the skilful use of his bow. He was succeeded by JAYASIMHA (1018-1040) who, after a long career, glorious through numerous victories, "received a garland, culled from the PARIJATA tree, from Indra's own hands".

After him came his son AHAVAMALLADEVA (1040-69) called also TRAILOKYAMALLA, who, in songs, tales, and dramas was celebrated as 'the second RAMA.' He conquered the CHOLAS; he stormed DHARA, the capital of the PRAMARAS in Malva, from which king BHOJA had to flee. He caused countless sacrifices to be offered, and by his liberality he surpassed the CHINTAMANI, the wish-granting philosopher's stone. He utterly destroyed the power of KARNA, king of DHAHALA. He erected a pillar of victory on the shore of the ocean. He personally vanquished the king of DRAVIDA, 'who had run to encounter him,' and stormed KANCHI, the capital of the CHOLAS, driving its ruler into the jungles. He beautified KALYANA so that it surpassed in splendour all other cities of the earth..... (To him) at last, in a most auspicious hour and under a most favourable conjunction of the planets, the eagerly desired son was born. Flowers fell from the sky, Indra's drum resounded, and as the gods rejoiced in heaven, so a festive tumult, the recitations of the bards, and the songs of the dancers, filled AHAVAMALLA'S palace.

The child's marvellous lustre, which announced its future greatness, induced the king to call him VIKRAMADITYA. He throve and grew up a handsome and strong boy, the favourite of his father. Early he showed in his plays that he was destined to be a mighty warrior and conqueror. He loved to chase the royal swans, the *rajahamsas*, and to tease the lion-whelps in their cages. Later he acquired the various *lipis*, or alphabets, and the art of using the bow. "Sarasvati also, the giver of poetry and eloquence, kissed his lotus-mouth." Not long after Vikrama, the third promised son was born. He received the name JAYASIMHA.

After a while, when AHAVAMALLA saw that VIKRAMADITYA, who had grown up to manhood, had acquired all 'sciences' and was anxious for the battle-feast, he conceived the plan of making him YUVARAJA, and thus to designate him as his successor. But, as soon as he opened his mind to the prince, the latter respectfully but firmly refused the offered favour, alleging that the dignity of YUVARAJA belonged by right to his elder brother. In this refusal he persisted, when his father represented to him that both Siva's word and the decree of the stars pronounced him to be destined for the succession. Finding that VIKRAMA was not to be moved, the king raised SOMESVARA to the rank of YUVARAJA. Royal fortune and the love of the father however, clung to VIKRAMA alone. He bore also the burden of the duties of the king and of the YUVARAJA, "just as the primeval tortoise carries the serpent SESA and the earth."

With the permission of AHAVAMALLA, VIKRAMA then set out on a series of warlike expeditions. He repeatedly defeated the CHOLAS (S. III. 61, 63, 65, 66; IV. 22-28) and plundered KANCHI. He lent his assistance to the king of MALVA, who came to him for protection to regain his kingdom (III. 67), and carried his arms as far north as GAUDA and KAMARUPA. He attacked also the king of SIMHALA or CEYLON, who fled before him to the hermitage of the husband of Lopamudra (Agastya) (III. 77, IV. 20). He destroyed the sandalwood forests of the MALAYA hills, and slew the Lord of KERALA (IV. 1-18). He finally conquered GANGAKUNDA (IV. 21), VENGI (IV. 29), and CHAKRAKOTA (IV. 30).

After having accomplished these brilliant exploits VIKRAMA turned homewards. He had come as far as the KRISHNA, when he suddenly was disquieted by the appearance of unfavourable omens which announced some great impending misfortune. He stopped his march and performed

on the banks of the river *santis*, or propitiatory ceremonies intended to avert the threatened evil. Whilst he was still engaged in these rites, he saw the chief messenger of his father coming from the capital, with a face that clearly announced him to be the bearer of bad news. The prince asked the Halkar at once for news of AHAVAMALLA, since already on the appearance of the omens he had been anxious about the welfare of the latter. Reluctantly and with many tears the messenger told the dismal story of AHAVAMALLA'S sudden illness and death. The king, he said, had been supremely happy on learning his son's success against the Chola, Pandya, and Simhala. In the midst of his rejoicings he had been attacked by a malignant fever. Finding that all remedies were of no avail, he had resolved to finish his life in the TUNGABHADRA, the Ganga of the south. With the consent of his ministers he had travelled to the sacred stream, and had died in its waves, meditating on Siva.

On the receipt of this news VIKRAMADITYA was deeply affected, and loudly manifested his grief. At first he refused to be consoled, and had to be disarmed lest he should attempt his own life. After a while he recovered, and performed the funeral ceremonies on the banks of the Krishna.

After that he set out for Kalyana in order to console his brother. SOMESVARA came out to meet him, and received him affectionately. The two brothers lived for some time after in concord and friendship. Vikrama, though superior to Somesvara by his talents, honoured the latter as the chief of his house and his king. He also presented him with the booty which he had made in his wars. After a while, however, Somesvara fell into evil courses. Pride obscured his judgment, he became suspicious, cruel and avaricious, so that he tarnished the glory of the Chalukya race, and all right-minded persons fell away from him. He even tried to do harm to his brother. When the latter saw that he was unable to restrain the king from evil, and had to fear for

his life and good name, he left Kalyana together with all his followers. He also took with him the youngest son of Ahavamalla, JAYASIMHA, as he did not think him safe whilst living near the king. SOMESVARA, on learning that his brothers had fled, sent an army in pursuit of them. VIKRAMADITYA, unwilling to make war against his brother, avoided it for a time. But, when finally compelled to fight, he destroyed it 'like one mouthful.' Other forces which were despatched after him in succession suffered the same fate, until these repeated losses forced SOMESVARA to desist from persecuting his more talented brother.

VIKRAMA (1076-1126) on being left to himself, marched towards the TUNGABHADRA, on whose bank he rested his army for some time. Then he became anxious to fight the CHOLA, and spent some time in the province of VANAVASA.

When he resumed his march, the trumpets of his army reminded the kings of MALAYADESA of his former great deeds. JAYAKESI, the king of the KONKANA, came to him and brought presents. The lord of ALUPA, made his submission, and received benefits in return. The wives of the king of KERALA wept when they thought of VIKRAMA'S former deeds.

The Chola king finally, feeling that he was unable to withstand Vikrama's approaching army, sent an ambassador to meet the Chalukya prince and to ask for his friendship, to cement which he offered his daughter's hand. Vikrama agreed to stop his expeditions, and to retire to the Tungabhadra, where the Chola king promised to meet him. The retreat of the river was arranged in order to save appearances, lest it should be said that the Chola had proffered his friendship through fear. Accordingly the king and the prince met; the former was humble, and the latter generous to his former foe. They were pleased with each other, and Vikrama's marriage with the Chola princess was

duly celebrated. The king then departed. Shortly afterwards, while Vikrama was still tarrying on the Tungabhadra, the news reached him that his father-in-law was dead, and that the Chola kingdom was in a state of anarchy. He at once started for the south, in order to place his wife's brother on the throne. He entered KANCHI, and put the rebels there under his heel. Next he visited GANGAKUNDA, destroyed the armies of the enemy, and finally secured the throne to the Chola prince. After a month's further stay in Kanchi he returned to the Tungabhadra.

But his expedition was not to have any lasting effects. A 'few days' after his return he learned that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion, and that Rajiga, the lord of VENGI, had taken possession of the throne of Kanchi.

Vikrama at once prepared himself to march against the usurper; but the latter, in order to save his newly acquired throne, asked SOMADEVA of KALYANA to make an alliance with him against their common enemy. Somesvara, thinking that a favourable opportunity to destroy his hated brother had been found, eagerly accepted Rajiga's offer, though the hereditary enmity between the Cholas and the Chalukyas ought—at least in Bilhana's opinion—to have prevented such a step. He watched Vikrama's movements, and followed him so closely on his march to the south, that when Rajiga's army had at last been reached by Vikrama, Somesvara's forces were encamped not far off in his rear. When Vikrama became aware of the hostile intentions of his brother, he was deeply distressed, being averse to a fratricidal war. He sent friendly messages to Somesvara and made attempts at a reconciliation. Somesvara apparently accepted his brother's advances; but in reality he meditated treachery, soiling the fair name of his race. He only temporized, in order to find a favourable moment for striking a deadly blow. Even when Vikrama became aware of this, he was

still unwilling to encounter his brother on the battlefield. It was only at the express command of Siva, who appeared to him, in a dream, ordered him to fulfil his destiny and to become a great ruler, that he consented to an appeal to arms. On the morning after the vision had appeared, a hard-contested battle was fought, in which the victory finally remained with Vikrama. Rajiga fled, and Somesvara was taken prisoner.

Immediately after the battle Vikrama returned to the Tungabhadra. He at first intended to restore his captive brother to liberty and to the throne. But Siva interposed a second time, and angrily commanded him to assume the sovereignty. Then Vikrama obeyed the order of the god, and allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Dekhan.

To his youngest brother, JAYASIMHA, Vikrama gave the office of viceroy of VANAVASA. Shortly afterwards he made further expeditions, by which he subdued everybody and everything in the four quarters of the universe, excepting only the elephants that guard the points of the horizon. Against whom these wars were waged is not stated. But 'when the multitude of the kings had been exhausted,' Vikrama once more had to 'extinguish' the Chola. Then only he entered his capital of Kalyana.

The time of Vikrama's arrival in Kalyana fell in spring, the season of pleasure and love. The king also was destined to undergo its influence, and to become a slave to the gentle passion. He learnt that the SILAHARA prince, ruling over KARAHATA, possessed a daughter, Chandralekha, or Chandaladevi by name, who, being endowed with marvellous beauty, was by the order of Parvati to hold a *svayamvara*. Her eyes sought the Chalukya, and remained fixed on his face. When the other princes saw this, they lost all hope of success with the *patimvara*, and plainly manifested their disappointment and anger. But the *pratihara* rakshi, the attending matron, loudly approved the choice of the princess.

who had selected a husband so noble, handsome, rich and brave, the conqueror of the allied Cholas and Chalukyas. She exhorted her to throw the garland over his neck. Chandralekha obeyed, the acclamations of the assembled multitude approved her act, and the happy pair at once proceeded to the nuptial *Mandapa*.

But when the end of the rainy season came he received news which rudely aroused him from his luxurious repose. A confidential adviser informed him that his brother JAYASIMHA, whom he had made Viceroy of Vanavasa after the victory over Somesvara and Rajiga, was meditating treason. In proof of this assertion the informer stated that Jayasimha amassed treasures by oppressing his subjects, that he increased his army, that he had subjected to himself the forest tribes, that he was seeking the friendship of the Dravida king, and that, worst of all, he tried to seduce Vikrama's soldiers from their allegiance. In conclusion he added that the prince would shortly advance with hostile intentions to the Krishnaveni.

Vikrama was greatly distressed by this news, which opened the prospect of another fratricidal war. Unwilling to act without fuller information, he sent out spies to inquire into the truth of the accusations against Jayasimha. The report which they brought back confirmed it. Even then the king was averse to harsh measures. He addressed friendly exhortations to his brother, representing to him that, as he possessed already regal power in the provinces assigned to him, a rebellion would profit him but little. But all was in vain.

After this victory, Vikrama returned to Kalyana, and enjoyed the pleasures of the cold season, which in the meanwhile had come on. These consisted in hunting-parties, at which he slew lions and other large game, hunted boars and hounds, and shot deer with arrows.

After Vikrama had subdued all his enemies, his dominions

enjoyed peace and prosperity. The elements even showed themselves propitious; neither famine nor pestilence visited his kingdom. In course of time sons were born to him, who resembled and gladdened his heart. His liberality to the poor of all countries was unbounded. He erected also buildings for pious purposes to commemorate his name. He built a temple of Vishnu-Kamalavilasin; in front of it he dug a splendid tank. Near it he built a city with splendid temples and palaces.

Once more, however, after a long period of peace, he had to draw his sword. The CHOLA again became proud and insolent. But Vikrama's army marched on Kanchi; a battle was fought, in which the Chola fled as usual. Kanchi was taken. Vikrama amused himself there for some time, and finally returned to his capital.

—*Billhana's Vikramankadevacharitam (abridged)* :

Trans. G. Buhler—The Indian Antiquary.

32. DEFEAT OF JAIPAL BY MAHMUD OF GHAZNI (1001 A.D.)

Sultan Mahmud at first designed in his heart to go to Sijistan, but subsequently preferred engaging previously in a holy way against Hind, and he distributed arms prior to convening a council on the subject, in order to secure a blessing on his designs, of exalting the standard of religion, of widening the plain of right, of illuminating the words of truth, and of strengthening the power of justice. He departed towards the country of Hind, in full reliance on the aid of God, who guiding by his right and by his power, bestowed dignity upon him, and gave him victory in all his expeditions. On his reaching Purushaur (Peshawar), he pitched his tent outside the city. There he received intelligence of the bold resolve of Jaipal, the enemy of God, and the king (malik) of Hind, to offer opposition, and of his rapid advance towards meeting his fate in the field of

battle. He then took a muster of his horses, and of all his warriors and their vessels from those in whose records it was entered, and then selected from among his troops 15,000 cavalry, men and officers, all bold, and strictly prohibited those who were rejected and no fit or disposed for war, from joining those who had been chosen, and who were like dragons of the desert and lions of the forest. With them he advanced against the wicked and accursed enemy, whose hearts were firm as hills and were as twigs of patience on the boughs of affection. The villainous infidel came forward, proud in his numbers and strength of head and arm, with 12,000 horsemen, 30,000 foot soldiers, and 300 elephants, at the ponderous weight of which the lighter earth groaned, little reflecting that, under God's dispensation, a small army can overturn a host, as the ignorant man would have learnt, could he have read the word of God—"Oftentimes a small army overcomes a large one by the order of God."

That infidel remained where he was, avoiding the action for a long time, and awaiting craftily the arrival of reinforcements and other vagabond families and tribes which were on their way; but the Sultan would not allow him to postpone the conflict, and the friends of God commenced the action, setting upon the enemy with sword, arrow, and spear,—plundering, seizing, and destroying; at all which the Hindus, being greatly alarmed, began to kindle the flame of fight. The Hindu set his cavalry in and beat his drums. The elephants moved on from their poses, and line advanced against line, shooting their arrows at one another like boys escaped from school, who at eventime, shoot at a target for a wager. Swords slashed like lightning amid the blackness of clouds, and fountains of blood flowed like the fall of setting stars. The friends of God defeated their obstinate opponents, and quickly put them to a complete rout. Noon had not arrived when the Musulmans had wreaked their vengeance on the infidel enemies of God, killing 15,000 of

them, spreading them like a carpet over the ground, and making them food for beasts and birds of prey. Fifteen elephants fell on the field of battle, as their legs, being pierced with arrows, became as motionless as if they had been in a quagmire, and their trunks were cut with the swords of the valiant heroes.

The enemy of God, Jaipal, and his children and grandchildren and nephews, and the chief men of his tribe, and his relatives, were taken prisoners, and being strongly bound with ropes, were carried before the Sultan, like as evildoers, on whose faces the fumes of infidelity are evident, who are covered with the vapours of misfortune, will be bound and carried to hell. Some had their arms forcibly tied behind their backs, some were seized by the cheek, some were driven by blows on the neck. The necklace was taken off the neck of Jaipal—composed of large pearls and shining gems and rubies set in gold, of which the value was two hundred thousand dinard; and twice that value was obtained from the necks of those of his relatives who were taken prisoners, or slain and had become the food of the mouths of hyenas and vultures. God also bestowed upon his friends such an amount of booty as was beyond all bounds and all calculation, including five hundred thousand slaves, beautiful men and women. The Sultan returned with his followers, to his camp, having plundered immensely, by God's aid, having obtained the victory, and thankful to God, the lord of the Universe. For the Almighty had given them victory over a province of the country of Hind, broader and longer and more fertile than Khurasan. This splendid and celebrated action took place on Thursday, the 8th of Muharram, 392, H. (27th November 1001, A. D.).

—Elliot and Dowson: *Tarikh Yamini of Al 'Utbi.*

33. SACK OF SOMNAT

(1024 A. D.)

SOMNAT:—A celebrated city of India situated on the shore of the sea and washed by its waves. Among the wonders of that place was the temple in which was placed the idol called Somnat. This idol was in the middle of the temple without anything to support from below, or to suspend it from above. It was held in the highest honour among the Hindus and whoever beheld it floating in the air was struck with amazement, whether he was a Musalman or an infidel. The Hindus used to go on pilgrimage to it whenever there was an eclipse of the moon and would then assemble there to the number of more than a hundred thousand. They believed that the souls of men used to meet there after separation from the body, and that the idol used to incorporate them at its pleasure in other bodies in accordance with their doctrine of transmigration. The ebb and flow of the tide was considered to be the worship paid to the idol by the sea. Every thing of the most precious was brought there as offerings and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. There is a river (Ganges) which is held sacred between which and Somnat the distance is 200 parasangs. They used to bring the water of this river to Somnat every day and wash the temple with it. A thousand brahmans were employed in worshipping the idol and attending on the visitors, and 500 damsels sung and danced at the door—all these were maintained upon the endowments of the temple. The edifice was built upon fifty-six pillars of teak covered with lead. The shrine of the idol was dark but was lighted by jewelled chandeliers of great value. Near it was a chain of gold weighing 200 mans. When a portion (watch) of the night closed, this chain used to be shaken like bells to rouse a fresh lot of brahmans to perform worship. When the Sultan Yaminu-d Daula Mahmud bin Subuktigin went to

wage religious war against India, he made great efforts to capture and destroy Somnat, in the hope that the Hindus would then become Muhammadans. He arrived there in the middle of Zi-l k'ada, 416 A. H. (December 1025 A. D.) The Indians made a desperate resistance. They would go weeping and crying for help into the temple and then issue forth to battle and fight till all were killed. The number of the slain exceeded 50,000. The king looked upon the idol with wonder and gave orders for the seizing of the spoil and the appropriation of the treasures. There were many idols of gold and silver and vessels set with jewels all of which had been sent there by the greatest personages in India. The value of the things found in the temples of the idols exceeded twenty thousand dinars. When the king asked his companions what they had to say about the marvel of the idol and of its staying in the air without prop or support, several maintained that it was upheld by some hidden support. The king directed a person to go and feel all around and above and below it with a spear, which he did, but met with no obstacle. One of the attendants then stated his opinion that the canopy was made of load-stone, and the idol of iron, and that the ingenious builder had skilfully contrived that the magnet should not exercise a greater force on any one side—hence the idol was suspended in the middle. Some coincided, others differed. Permission was obtained from the Sultan, to remove some stones from the top of the canopy to settle the point. When two stones were removed from the summit the idol swerved on one side, when more were taken away it inclined still further, until at last it rested on the ground.

—*Elliot and Dowson: Asaru-l Bilad of Zakariya Al Kazwini.*

34. INDIAN CUSTOMS AND MANNERS IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

(a) On the Caste System.

The universal duties of the Brahman throughout his whole life are works of piety, giving alms and receiving them. For that which the Brahmans give reverts to the pitaras (is in reality a benefit to the Fathers). He must continually read, perform the sacrifices, take care of the fire which he lights, offer before it, worship it, and preserve it from being extinguished, that he may be burned by it after his death.

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The Kshatriya reads the Veda and learns it, but does not teach it. He offers to the fire and acts according to the rules of the Puranas. In places where a table-cloth is prepared for eating, he makes it angular. He rules the people and defends them, for he is created for this task. He girds himself with a single cord of the threefold yajnopavita, and a single other cord of cotton. This takes place after he has finished the twelfth year of his life.

It is the duty of the Vaishya to practise agriculture and to cultivate the land, to tend the cattle and to remove the need of the Brahmans. He is only allowed to gird himself with a single yajnopavita, which is made of two cords.

The Sudra is like a servant to the Brahman, taking care of his affairs and serving him. If, though being poor in the extreme, he still desires not to be without a yajnopavita, he girds himself only with the linen one. Every action which is considered as the privilege of a Brahman, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the Veda, and offering sacrifices to the fire, is forbidden to him, to such a degree that when, e. g. a Sudra or a Vaishya is proved to have recited the Veda, he is accused by the Brahmans before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off. However, the

meditation on God, works of piety, and alms-giving are not forbidden to him.

Every man who takes to some occupation which is not allowed to his caste, as, e. g. a Brahman to trade, a Sudra to agriculture, commits a sin or crime, which they consider only a little less than the crime of theft.

(b) On Alms, and how a man must spend what he earns.

It is obligatory with them every day to give alms as much as possible. They do not let money become a year or even a month old, for this would be a draft on an unknown future, of which a man does not know whether he reaches it or not.

With regard to that which he earns by the crops or from the cattle, he is bound first to pay to the ruler of the country the tax which attaches to the soil or the pasture-ground. Further, he pays him one-sixth of the income in recognition of the protection which he affords to the subjects, their property, and their families. The same obligation rests also on the common people, but they will always lie and cheat in the declarations about their property. Further, trading business, too, pay a tribute for the same reason. Only the Brahmans are exempt from all these taxes.

As to the way in which the remainder of the income, after the taxes have been deducted, is to be employed, there are different opinions. Some destine one-ninth of it for alms. For they divide it into three parts. One of them is kept in reserve to guarantee the heart against anxiety. The second is spent on trade to bring profit, and one-third of the third portion (i. e. one-ninth of the whole) is spent on alms, whilst the two other thirds are spent according to the same rule.

(c) On Matrimony.

Every nation has particular customs of marriage, and especially those who claim to have a religion and law of divine

origin. The Hindus marry at a very young age; therefore the parents arrange the marriage for their sons. On that occasion the Brahmans perform the rites of the sacrifices, and they as well as others receive alms. The implements of the wedding rejoicings are brought forward. No gift is settled between them. The man gives only a present to the wife, as he thinks fit, and a marriage gift in advance, which he has no right to claim back, but the wife may give it back to him of her own will. Husband and wife can only be separated by death, as they have no divorce.

A man may marry one to four wives. He is not allowed to take more than four; but if one of his wives dies, he may take another one to complete the legitimate number. However he must not go beyond it.

If a wife loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things—either to remain a widow as long as she lives or to burn herself; and the latter eventuality is considered the preferable, because as a widow she is ill-treated as long as she lives. As regards the wives of the kings, they are in the habit of burning them, whether they wish it or not, by which they desire to prevent any of them by chance committing something unworthy of the illustrious husband. They make an exception only for women of advanced years and for those who have children; for the son is the responsible protector of his mother.

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(d) On Law Suits.

The judge demands from the suitor a document written against the accused person in a well-known writing which is thought suitable for writs of the kind, and in the document the well-established proof of the justice of his suit. In case there is no written document, the contest is settled by means of witnesses without a written document.

The witnesses must not be less than four, but there may

be more. Only in case the justice of the deposition of a witness is perfectly established, and certain before the judge, he may admit it, and decide the question alone on the basis of the deposition of this sole witness. However he does not admit prying about in secret, deriving arguments from mere signs or indications in public, concluding by analogy from one thing which seems established about another, and using all sorts of tricks to elicit the truth.

If the suitor is not able to prove his claim, the defendant must swear, but he may also tender the oath to the suitor by saying, "Swear thou that thy claim is true and I will give thee what thou claimest."

—Sachau: *Alberuni's India*.

35. RAJENDRA KULOTTUNGA CHOLA I

(C. 1070 acc.)

(Line 1). Hail ! Prosperity ! While the wheel of his (authority) went as far as the golden circle (i. e. Mount Meru) on the earth, which was surrounded by the moat of the sea, that was (again) surrounded by (his) fame, (the king) newly wedded, in the time (when he was still) heir-apparent, the brilliant goddess of victory at Sakkarakottam by deeds of valour and seized a herd of mountains of rut (i. e. rutting elephants) at Vayiragaram.

(Line 3). (He) unsheathed (his) sword, showed the strength of (his) arm, and spurred (his) war-steed, so that the army of the king of Kondala, (whose spear had) a sharp point, retreated.

(Line 4). Having established (his) fame, having put on the garland of (the victory over) the Northern region, and having stopped the prostitution of the goddess with the sweet and excellent lotus-flower (i. e. Lakshmi) of the southern region, and the loneliness of the goddess of the good

country whose garment is the Ponni, (he) put on by right (of inheritance) the pure royal crown of jewels, while the kings of the earth bore his two feet (on their heads) as a large crown.

(Line 6). The river (of the rules) of the ancient King Manu swelled, (and) the river (of the sins) of the Kali (age) dried up.

(Line 7). (His) sceptre swayed over every (quarter of) this continent of the naval (tree); the white light of the sacred shadow of (his) white parasol shone everywhere on the circle of the great earth; (and his) tiger (banner) fluttered unrivalled on the Meru (mountain).

(Line 9). (Before him) stood a row of elephants showering jewels, which were presented (as) tribute by the kings of remote islands whose girdle is the sea.

(Line 10). The excellent head of the refractory king of the South (i. e. the Pandya) lay outside his (viz. Kulottunga's) beautiful city, being pecked by kites.

(L. 11). Not only did the speech (of Vikkalan):—"After this day a permanent blemish (will attach to Kulottunga), as to the crescent (which is the origin) of (his) family,"—turn out wrong, but the bow (in) the hand of Vikkalan was not (even) bent against (the enemy).

(L. 13). Everywhere from Nangili of rocky roads—with Manalur in the middle—to the Tungabhadra, there were lying now the dead (bodies of his) furious elephants, his lost pride and (his) boasted valour.

(L. 14). The very mountains which (he) ascended bent their backs; the very rivers into which (he) descended eddied and breached (the banks) in their course; (and) the very seas into which (he) plunged became troubled and agitated.

(L. 16). (The Chola king) seized simultaneously the two countries (pani) called Gangamandalam and Singanam, troops of furious elephants which had been irretrievably abandoned (by the enemy), crowds of women, (the angles

of) whose beautiful eyes were as pointed as daggers, the goddess of fame, who gladly brought disgrace (on Vikkalan), and the great goddess of victory, who changed to the opposite (side) and caused (Vikkalan) himself and (his) father, who were desirous of the rule over the Western region, to turn their backs again and again on many days.

(L. 20). Having resolved in (his) royal mind to conquer also the Pandi-mandalam (i. e., the Pandya country) with great fame, (he) despatched his great army,—which possessed [excellent horses (resembling) the waves of the sea], war-elephants (resembling) ships, and troops (resembling) water,—as though the Northern ocean was overflowing the Southern ocean.

(L. 22). (He) completely destroyed the forest which the five Panchavas (i. e. Pandyas) had entered as refuge, when they were routed on a battlefield where (he) fought (with them), and fled covering with fear.

(L. 24). (He) subdued (their) country, drove them into hot jungles (in) hills where woodmen roamed about, and planted pillars of victory in every region.

(L. 25). (He) was pleased to seize the pearl fisheries, the Podiyil (mountain) where the three kinds of Tamil (flourished), [the (very) centre of the (mountain) Saiyam] where furious rutting elephants were captured, and Kanni, and fixed the boundaries of the Southern (i. e. Pandya) country.

(L. 27). While all the heroes in the Western hill-country (Kundamalai-nadu) ascended voluntarily to heaven, (he) was pleased to bestow on the chiefs of his army, who were mounted on horses, settlements on every road, including (that which passed) Kottaru, in order that the enemies might be scattered, and took his seat on the throne acquired in warfare.

(L. 29). (He) was pleased to be seated (on it) while (his) valour and liberality shone like (his) necklace of great splendour and (like) the flower-garland on (his) royal shoulders,

(and) while (all his) enemies prostrated themselves on the ground.

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 —E. Hultzsch: *South Indian Inscriptions—New Imperial Series, Vol. XIX—Inscription at Tirukkalukkunram.*

36. MUHAMMAD GHORI AND PRITHIRAJ (1191–1192 A. D.)

Rai Kolah Pithaura came up against the fort (Sarhind), and the Sultan returned and faced him at Narain. All the Rais of Hindustan were with the Rai Kolah. The battle was formed and the Sultan, seizing a lance, made a rush upon the elephant which carried Gobind Rai of Delhi. The latter advanced to meet him in front of the battle, and then the Sultan, who was a second Rustam, and the Lion of the Age, drove his lance into the mouth of the Rai and knocked two of the accursed wretch's teeth down his throat. The Rai, on the other hand, returned the blow and inflicted a severe wound on the arm of his adversary. The Sultan reined back his horse and turned aside, and the pain of the wound was so insufferable that he could not support himself on horseback. The Musulman army gave way and could not be controlled. The Sultan was just falling when a sharp and brave young Khilji recognized him, jumped upon the horse behind him, and clasping him round the bosom, spurred on the horse and bore him from the midst of the fight.

When the Musulmans lost sight of the Sultan, a panic fell upon them; they fled and halted not until they were safe from the pursuit of the victors. A party of nobles and youths of Ghor had seen and recognized their leader with that lion-hearted Khilji, and when he came up they drew together, and, forming a kind of litter with broken lances, they bore him to the halting-place. The hearts of the troops

were consoled by his appearance, and the Muhammadan faith gathered new strength in his life. He collected the scattered forces and retreated to the territories of Islam, leaving Kazi Tolak in the fort of Sarhind. Rai Pithaura advanced and invested the fort, which he besieged for thirteen months.

Next year the Sultan assembled another army, and advanced to Hindustan, to avenge his defeat. A trustworthy person named Muinu-d din, one of the principal men of the hills of Tolak, informed me that he was in this army, and that its force amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand horsemen bearing armour. Before the Sultan could arrive the fort of Sarhind had capitulated, and the enemy were encamped in the vicinity of Narain. The Sultan drew up his battle array, leaving his main body in the rear, with the banners, canopies, and elephants, to the number of several divisions. His plan of attack being formed, he advanced quietly. The light unarmoured horsemen were made into four divisions of 10,000, and were directed to advance and harass the enemy on all sides, on the right and on the left, in the front and in the rear, with their arrows. When the enemy collected his forces to attack, they were to support each other, and to charge at full speed. By these tactics the infidels were worsted, the Almighty gave us the victory over them, and they fled.

Pithaura alighted from his elephant, mounted a horse, and galloped off, but he was captured near Sarsuti, and sent to hell. Gobind Rai of Delhi was killed in the battle, and the Sultan recognized his head by the two teeth which he had broken. The capital, Ajmir, and all the Siwalik hills, Hansi, Sarsuti, and other districts were the results of this victory, which was gained in the year 588 H. (1192 A. D.).

—*Elliot and Dowson: Tabalat-i Nasiri of Minhaj-u Siraj.*

37. KUTBU-D DIN AIBAK (1206—1210 A. D.)

At the time when Mahomed Ghoomy, after his defeat in Toorkistan, returned to India, he was joined by Khootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, and Shums-ood-Altmish, another of his slaves, by whose valour and fidelity he defeated the Gukkurs in several actions, and recovered Lahore from them. Matters being thus peaceably settled, Khootb-ood-Deen returned to his government, and the King was retiring towards Ghizny, when he was assassinated by the Gukkurs. Mahmood, his nephew assumed the royal titles at Ghoor, and, on his accession, sent all the insignia of royalty, a throne, a canopy, standards, drums, and the title of King, to Khootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, desirous of securing his interest, and being by no means able to oppose his power, if he refused to acknowledge him. Khootb-ood-Deen Eibuk received these marks of favour with becoming respect at Lahore, where he ascended the throne on the 18th of Zeekad A. H. 602. He returned from thence in a few days to Dehly.

—Briggs: *Ferishta's History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India.*

38. SULTAN RAZIYA (1236—1240 A. D.)

Sultan Raziya was a great monarch. She was wise, just and generous, a benefactor to her kingdom, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects, and the leader of her armies. She was endowed with all the qualities befitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex, and so in the estimation of men all these virtues were worthless. (May God have mercy on her!) In the time of her father, Sultan Said Shamsu-d din, she had exercised authority with great dignity. Her mother was the chief wife of his Majesty, and she resided in the chief royal palace in the Kushk-firozi. The

Sultan discerned in her countenance the signs of power and bravery, and, although she was a girl and lived in retirement, yet when the Sultan returned from the conquest of Gwalior, he directed his secretary, Taju-l-Malik Mahmud, who was director of the Government, to put her name in writing as heir of the kingdom, and successor to the throne. Before this farman was executed, the servants of the State, who were in close intimacy with his Majesty, represented that, seeing the king had grown-up sons who were worthy of the dignity, what wisdom could there be in making a woman the heir to a Muhammadan throne, and what advantage could accrue from it. They besought him to set their minds at ease, for the course that he proposed seemed very inexpedient. The king replied, "My sons are devoted to the pleasures of youth, and no one of them is qualified to be king. They are unfit to rule the country, and after my death you will find that there is no one more competent to guide the State than my daughter." It was afterwards agreed by common consent that the king had judged wisely.

—Elliot and Dowson: *Tabakati-Nasiri of Minhaju-s-Siraj*.

39. JATAVARMAN SUNDARAPANDYA I

The Pandya then marched forth with his long sharp sword, his strong big horse and his amulet long arms, as his only companions. Leaving the Chera and his army dead on the field of battle, he destroyed the Malai Nadu (mountain country) or Malabar, where the earth never dries up. He then compelled the payment of tribute by the Chola who came of a great dynasty of rulers and possessed great fighting strength. He then attacked, as an act of his own strength, the Hoysalas in the Chola country. Breaking through their beautiful citadel, and destroying their cavalry of rising strength and valiant generals, like Singana with their army, he filled the battlefield with hills of dead bodies

with gurgling floods of blood, and made kites, crows, vultures and other birds of prey celebrate the battle by their noisy rejoicing. He captured the enemy's rutting elephants, neighing horses, heaps of gold and jewels, and innumerable women then and there; but desisted from pursuing the fleeing Hoysala in the conviction that it was unfair to do so. Putting to death the Chera, who, while pretending to conduct himself towards him with an affection exceeding that of a mother, was actually inimical at heart and proved the traitor, he captured Kannanur-Koppam, merely approaching which would be impossible to conceive of for others, and brought the Chola country of Ponni (Kaveri) as much under his protection as the land of Kanni (Kanyakumari). He then put under a tribute of elephants the Hoysala (Karnataka Raja) who fled for protection to his city protected by hill-like elephants and accepted graciously the tribute of jewels and elephants from the king of Ilam (Ceylon). Declining the tribute similarly sent by the Pallava chieftain, he captured him and, putting him in chains, laid siege to the flourishing city of Sendamangalam. Fighting many a battle round the place which struck terror into the heart of the Pallava, he took possession of his fertile country, his reserves of gold, big elephants, horses and other items of royal wealth, and then restored the Pallava to his kingdom. He then entered the great temple at Chidambaram where, having worshipped at the feet of the dancing Siva of immeasurable antiquity, he wore the garland of victory along with garlands of margossa brought from the groves round the temple of Kali in Uraiyur, while learned poets in sweet words sang the praises of the victorious king who adorned the royal family descended from the moon, and wished for his long life and prosperity.

—Text of T. A. Gopinath Rao—Trans. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar in his "South India and her Muhammadan Invaders"—Pages 219-20.

40. GHIYASU-D DIN BALBAN

(1266—1286)

Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Balban was a man of experience in matters of government. From being a *malik* he became a *khan*, and from being a *khan* he became a king. When he attained the throne he imparted to it new lustre, he brought the administration into order, and restored to efficiency institutions whose power had been shaken or destroyed. The dignity and authority of government were restored, and his stringent rules and resolute determination caused all men, high and low, throughout his dominions, to submit to his authority. Fear and awe of him took possession of all men's hearts, but his justice and his consideration for his people won the favour of his subjects and made them zealous supporters of his throne. During the thirty years from the death of Shamsu-d din, the incompetency of that monarch's sons and the overweening power of the *Shamsi* slaves had produced a vacillating, disobedient, self-willed feeling among the people, which watched for and seized upon every opportunity. Fear of the governing power, which is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of states, had departed from the hearts of all men, and the country had fallen into a wretched condition. But from the very commencement of the reign of Balban the people became tractable, obedient, and submissive; self-assertion and self-will were thrown aside, and all refrained from insubordination and insolence.

—*Elliot and Dowson: Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi of Ziau-d Din Barni.*

41. REGULATIONS OF ALAU-D DIN KHILJI

Alla-ood-Deen after the late occurrences, becoming apprehensive of conspiracies against his person, summoned his nobles, and commanded them to give their opinion, without

reserve, what should be done to avert these evils. At the same time, he called on them to state what they considered were the real causes of these disorders. They replied, that there were many sources out of which revolutions, dangerous and fatal in their consequences, might proceed. Among others, they hinted at the king's total inattention to business and the consequent absence of all redress to his subjects. The excessive use of wine appeared to them also a source of many disorders, for when men form themselves into societies for the purpose of drinking, they unbosom their secret thoughts to each other, and are frequently excited to undertake desperate projects. The close connections formed among the nobles of the court they deemed also of danger to the state. Their numerous intermarriages, and the patronage in the hands of a few, gave them a degree of power, which enabled them, by coalition, to create revolutions whenever so disposed. The last and not the least cause, they thought, arose from the unequal division of property; they considered that the wealth of a rich empire, if confined to a few persons, only rendered them, as governors of provinces, more like independent princes than subjects of the state.

Alla-ood-Deen, approved of many of the remarks of his counsellors, and immediately began to carry into execution the plan which they laid before him. He first applied himself to a strict enquiry into the administration of justice, to redress grievances, and to examine narrowly into the private as well as public characters of all men in office. He procured intelligence of the most secret discourses of families of note in the city, as well as of every transaction of moment in the most distant provinces, and executed justice with such rigour, that robbery and theft, formerly so common, were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure on the highway, and the merchant carried his commodities in safety from the sea of Bengal to the mountains of Kabul, and from Tulingana to Kashmeer. He published, also, an edict, prohi-

biting the use of wine and strong liquors on pain of death. He himself set the example, by emptying his cellars into the streets. In this he was followed by all ranks of people, so that, for some days, the common sewers flowed with wine. He issued orders that marriage, among the nobility, should not be ratified without license from the crown; and that no private meetings or political discussions should be held among the nobles of his court, which proved a severe check on the pleasures of society. This latter order was carried into effect so rigorously, that no man durst entertain his friends without a written permission from the Vizier. At length the King became so rapacious, that he seized the private property, and confiscated the estates both of Mussulmans and Hindoos, without distinction, and by this means accumulated immense treasures. Men, in short, were almost reduced to a level over all the empire. All emoluments were cut off from the different offices, which were now filled with men whose indigence rendered them the servile instruments of his government. He ordered a tax, equal to half the gross annual produce of the lands, to be levied throughout the kingdom, and to be regularly transmitted to the exchequer. He appointed officers to superintend the revenue collectors, whose office it was to take care that the zemindars should demand no more from the cultivators than the estimate which the zemindars themselves had made; and in case of disobedience or neglect, the superintendents were obliged to refund the amount, and to pay a fine. The farmers were restricted to the occupation of a certain quantity of land, and to a limited number of servants and cattle. No grazier was allowed to have above a certain number of cows, sheep, and goats, and a tax was paid for keeping even that number, so that many of the village registrars abandoned their offices; and the mokuddums, or heads of villages, who formerly possessed large farms, and maintained expensive establishments, were obliged to dismiss them, and to cause many of

the menial offices of their families to be performed by their own wives and children. Neither were they permitted to resign their employments, till they found others as capable as themselves to execute their duties. It was a common saying of the King, "That religion had no connection with civil government but was only the business, or rather amusement of private life ; and that the will of a wise prince was better than the variable opinions of bodies of men."

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Alla-ood-Deen, relieved from the perils of this invasion (of the Moguls), caused a palace to be built upon the spot where he had entrenched himself, and directed the citadel of Old Delhy to be pulled down, and built anew. But apprehensive of another invasion of the Moguls, he increased his forces so greatly, that upon calculating the expense, he found his revenues, and what treasures he had himself amassed, could not support them above six years. In this dilemma he resolved to reduce the pay of the army, but it occurred to him that this could not be done with propriety, without lowering proportionately, the price of horses, arms, and provision. He therefore caused an edict to be proclaimed, which he strictly enforced throughout the empire, fixing the price of every article of consumption. To accomplish the reduction of the prices of grain, in particular, he caused large magazines to be built upon the rivers Jumna and Ganges, and other places convenient for water-carriage, under the direction of Mullik Kubool. This person was authorised to receive half of the land tax in grain; and the government agent supplied the markets when any articles arose above the fixed price.

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The King having thus regulated the prices of articles, his next care was to new-model his army. He settled the pay

of every horseman for himself and his horse. The first class had 234 tunkas, the second class, 156, and the third class, 88 tunkas annually, according to the goodness of the horse; and, upon a muster, he found his cavalry to consist of 475,000.

—Briggs: *Ferishta's History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India.*

42. THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGNS OF MALIK KAFAR

(1302—1313 A. D.)

Towards the end of the year 710 H. (1310 A. D.) the Sultan sent an army under Malik Naib Kafur against Dhur-samundar and Ma'bar. The Malik, with Khwaja Haji, Naib-i 'ariz, took leave of the Sultan and proceeded to Rabari, where the army collected. They then proceeded to Deogir, where they found that Ramdeo was dead, and from Deogir to the confines of Dhur-samundar. At the first onslaught Billal Rai fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, and Dhur-samundar was captured. Thirty-six elephants and all the treasures of the place fell into the hands of the victors. A despatch of victory was then sent to Delhi, and Malik Naib Kafur marched on to Ma'bar, which he also took. He destroyed the golden idol temple (but-khanah-i zarin) of Ma'bar, and the golden idols which for ages (karnha) had been worshipped by the Hindus of that country. The fragments of the golden temple and of the broken idols of gold and gilt became the rich spoil of the army. In Ma'bar there were two Rais, but all the elephants and treasure were taken from both, and the army turned homewards flushed with victory. A despatch of victory was sent to the Sultan, and in the early part of 711 H. (1311 A. D.) the army reached Delhi, bringing with it six hundred and

twelve elephants, ninety-six thousand mans of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and twenty thousand horses. Malik Naib Kafur presented the spoil to the Sultan in the palace at Siri on different occasions, and the Sultan made presents of four mans, or two mans, or one man or half a man of gold to the maliks and amirs. The old inhabitants of Delhi remarked that so many elephants and so much gold had never before been brought into Delhi. No one could remember anything like it, nor was there anything like it recorded in history.

—*Elliot and Dowson: Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Ziaud Din Barni.*

43. MUHAMMAD IBN TAGHLAK

(1325—1351)

Sultan Muhammad planned in his own breast three or four projects by which the whole of the habitable world was to be brought under the rule of his servants, but he never talked over these projects with any of his councillors and friends. Whatever he conceived he considered to be good, but in promulgating and enforcing his schemes he lost his hold upon the territories he possessed, disgusted his people, and emptied his treasury. Embarrassment followed embarrassment, and confusion became worse confounded. The ill-feeling of the people gave rise to outbreaks and revolts. The rules for enforcing the royal schemes became daily more oppressive to the people. More and more the people became disaffected, more and more the mind of the king was set against them, and the numbers of those brought to punishment increased. The tribute of most of the distant countries and districts was lost, and many of the soldiers and servants were scattered and left in distant lands. Deficiencies appeared in the treasury. The mind of the Sultan lost its equilibrium. In the extreme weakness and harshness of his temper he gave himself up to severity.

Gujarat and Deogir were the only (distant) possessions that remained. In the old territories, dependent on Dehli, the capital, disaffection and rebellion sprung up. By the will of fate many different projects occurred to the mind of the Sultan, which appeared to him moderate and suitable, and were enforced for several years, but the people could not endure them. These schemes effected the ruin of the Sultan's empire, and the decay of the people. Every one of them that was enforced wrought some wrong and mischief, and the minds of all men, high and low, were disgusted with their ruler. Territories and districts which had been securely settled were lost. When the Sultan found that his orders did not work so well as he desired, he became still more embittered against his people. He cut them down like weeds and punished them. So many wretches were ready to slaughter true and orthodox Musulmans as had never before been created from the days of Adam..... If the twenty prophets had been given into the hands of these minions, I verily believe that they would not have allowed them to live one night.....

—Elliot and Dowson: *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi of Zian-d Din Barni.*

44. ADMINISTRATION OF FIROZ SHAH

(1351—1388)

..... Unwise regulations had been made in former reigns, and the *raiya*ts and subjects were oppressed in the payment of the revenue. Several writers told the author of this work that it was the practice to leave the *raiya*t one cow and take away all the rest. Sultan Firoz made the laws of the Prophet his guide, acting zealously upon the principles they laid down, and prohibiting all that was inconsistent therewith. No demand in excess of the regular government dues was to be made, and the officer who made any such exaction was to make full reparation. Brocades, silks, and

goods required for the royal establishments were to be purchased at the market price, and the money paid..... Such rules were made that the *raiya*ts grew rich, and were satisfied. Their homes were replete with grain, property, horses, and furniture; every one had plenty of gold and silver; no woman was without her ornaments, and no house was wanting in excellent beds and couches. Wealth abounded and comforts were general. The whole realm of Dehli was blessed with the bounties of the Almighty.

—*Elliot and Dowson: Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi of Shams-i Siraj 'Afif.*

45. REMOVAL AND RAISING OF THE MINARA-I ZARIN

Khizrabad is ninety kos from Delhi, in the vicinity of the hills. When the Sultan visited that district, and saw the column in the village of Tobra, he resolved to remove it to Delhi, and there erect it as a memorial to future generations. After thinking over the best means of lowering the column, orders were issued commanding the attendance of all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood, within and without the Doab, and all soldiers, both horse and foot. They were ordered to bring all implements and materials suitable for the work. Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the cotton of the Sembal (silk cotton tree). Quantities of this silk cotton were placed round the column, and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton was then removed by degrees, and after some days the pillar lay safe upon the ground. When the foundations of the pillar were examined, a large square stone was found as a base, which also was taken out. The pillar was then encased from top to the bottom in reeds and raw skins, so that no damage might accrue to it. A carriage, with forty-two wheels, was constructed, and ropes were

attached to each wheel. Thousands of men handled at every rope, and after great labour and difficulty the pillar was raised on to the carriage. A strong rope was fastened to each wheel, and 200 men pulled at each of these ropes. By the simultaneous exertions of so many thousand men the carriage was removed, and was brought to the banks of the Jumna. Here the Sultan came to meet it. A number of large boats had been collected, some of which could carry 5,000 and 7,000 mans of grain, and the least of them 2,000 mans. The column was very ingeniously transferred to these boats, and was then conducted to Firozabad, where it was landed and conveyed into the Kushk with infinite labour and skill.

Account of the Raising of the Obelisk:—At this time the author of this book was twelve years of age, and a pupil of the respected Mur Khan. When the pillar was brought to the palace a building was commenced for its reception, near the Jami Masjid, and the most skilful architects and workmen were employed. It was constructed of stone and chunam, and consisted of several stages or steps. When a step was finished the column was raised on to it, another step was then built and the pillar was again raised, and so on in succession until it reached the intended height. On arriving at this stage, other contrivances had to be devised to place it in an erect position. Ropes of great thickness were obtained, and windlasses were placed on each of the six stages of the base. The ends of the ropes were fastened to the top of the pillar, and the other ends passed over the windlasses, which were firmly secured with many fastenings. The wheels were then turned, and the column was raised about half a gaz. Logs of wood and bags of cotton were then placed under it to prevent its sinking again. In this way, by degrees, and in the course of several days, the column was raised to the perpendicular. Large beams were then placed round it as shores, until quite a cage of scaffolding was formed. It was thus secured in an upright position,

straight as an arrow, without the smallest deviation from the perpendicular. The square stone, before spoken of, was placed under the pillar. After it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its two capitals (do sar-i an), and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola, called in Hindi kalas. The height of the obelisk was thirty-two gaz; eight gaz was sunk in its pedestal, and twenty-four gaz was visible. On the base of the obelisk there were engraved several lines of writing in Hindi characters. Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees were invited to read them, but no one was able. It is said that certain infidel Hindus interpreted them as stating that no one should be able to remove the obelisk from its place till there should arise in the latter days a Muhammadan king, named Sultan Firoz, etc., etc.

—*Elliot and Dowson: Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi of Shams-i Siraj 'Afif.*

46. SACK OF DELHI

(1398 A. D.)

On the 16th of the month some incidents occurred which led to the sack of the city of Delhi, and to the slaughter of many of the infidel inhabitants. One was this. A party of fierce Turk soldiers had assembled at one of the gates of the city to look about them and enjoy themselves, and some of them laid violent hands upon the goods of the inhabitants. When I heard of this violence, I sent some amirs, who were present in the city, to restrain the Turks. A party of soldiers accompanied these amirs into the city. Another reason was that some of the ladies of my harem expressed a wish to go into the city and see the palace of Hazar-sutun (thousand columns) which Malik Jauna built in the fort called Jahanpanah. I granted this request, and I sent a party of soldiers to escort the litters of the ladies. Another reason was that Jalal Islam and other diwans had gone into the city with a

party of soldiers to collect the contribution laid upon the city. Another reason was that some thousand troopers with orders for grain, oil, sugar, and flour, had gone into the city to collect these supplies. Another reason was that it had come to my knowledge that great numbers of Hindus and gabrs, with their wives and children, and goods, and valuables, had come into the city from all the country round, and consequently I had sent some amirs with their regiments (kushun) into the city and directed them to pay no attention to the remonstrances of the inhabitants, but to seize and bring out these fugitives. For these several reasons a great number of fierce Turki soldiers were in the city. When the soldiers proceeded to apprehend the Hindus and gabrs who had fled to the city, many of them drew their swords and offered resistance. The flames of strife were thus lighted and spread through the whole city from Jahanpanah and Siri to old Delhi, burning up all it reached. The savage Turks fell to killing and plundering. The Hindus set fire to their houses with their own hands, burned their wives and children in them, and rushed into the fight and were killed. The Hindus and Gabrs of the city showed much alacrity and boldness in fighting. The amirs who were in charge of the gates prevented any more soldiers from going into the place, but the flames of war had risen too high for this precaution to be of any avail in extinguishing them. On that day, Thursday, and all the night of Friday, nearly 15,000 Turks were engaged in slaying, plundering and destroying. When morning broke on Friday all my army, no longer under control, went off to the city and thought of nothing but killing, plundering, and making prisoners. All that day the sack was general. The following day, Saturday, the 17th, all passed in the same way, and the spoil was so great that each man secured from fifty to a hundred prisoners, men, women, and children. There was no man who took less than twenty. The other booty was immense in rubies, diamonds, garnets,

pearls, and other gems; jewels of gold and silver, *ashrafs*, *tankas* of gold and silver of the celebrated 'Alai coinage, vessels of gold and silver; and brocades and silks of great value. Gold and silver ornaments of the Hindu women were obtained in such quantities as to exceed all account. Excepting the quarter of the Saiyids, the 'ulama and the other Muslims, the whole city was sacked. The pen of fate had written down this destiny for the people of this city. Although I was desirous of sparing them I could not succeed, for it was the will of God that this calamity should fall upon the city.

On the following day, Sunday, it was brought to my knowledge that a great number of infidel Hindus had assembled in the *Masjid-i jami'* of Old Delhi, carrying with them arms and provisions, and were preparing to defend themselves. Some of my people who had gone that way on business were wounded by them. I immediately ordered Amir Shah Malik and 'Ali Sultan' Tawachi to take a party of men and proceed to clear the house of God from infidels and idolaters. They accordingly attacked these infidels and put them to death. Old Delhi then was plundered.

I ordered that all the artisans and clever mechanics, who were masters of their respective crafts, should be picked out from among the prisoners and set aside, and accordingly some thousands of craftsmen were selected to await my command. All these I distributed among the princes and amirs who were present, or who were engaged officially in other parts of my dominions. I had determined to build a *Masjid-i jami* in Samarkand, the seat of my empire, which should be without a rival in any country; so I ordered that all builders and stone-masons should be set apart for my own especial service.

By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Delhi, by name Siri, Jahan-panah, and Old Delhi, had been plundered. The khutba of my sove-

reignty which is an assurance of safety and protection, had been read in the city. It was therefore my earnest wish that no evil might happen to the people of the place. But it was ordained by God that the city should be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with a spirit of resistance, so that they brought on themselves that fate which was inevitable.

—*Elliot and Dowson: Malfuzat-i Timuri.*

47. VIJAYANAGAR IN 1443 A. D.

From our former relation, and well-adjusted narratives, well-informed readers will have ascertained that the wazir Abdu-r Razzak had arrived at the city of Bijanagar. There he saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malabar, a space of more than 1,000 parasangs. The country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile, and about three hundred good seaports belong to it. There are more than 1,000 elephants, lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven lacs of men (1,100,000). In the whole of Hindustan there is no rai more absolute than himself, under which denomination the kings of that country are known. The Brahmans are held by him in higher estimation than all other men. The book of Kalila and Dimna, than which there is no other more excellent in the Persian language, and which relates to a Rai and a Brahman, is probably the composition of the wise men of this country.

The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer wall there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones

are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall. If any one wishes to learn how this resembles the city of Hirat, let him understand that the outer fortification answers to that which extends from the hill of Mukhtar and the pass of "the Two Brothers" to the banks of the river, and the bridge of Malan, which lies to the east of the village of Ghizar, and to the west of the village of Siban.

The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the summit of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes (*jizyat*). The second fortress represents the space which extends from the bridge of the New River to the bridge of the pass of Kara, to the east of the bridge of Rangina and Jakan, and to the west of the garden of Zibanda, and the village of Jasan. The third fortress would contain the space which lies between the tomb of the Imam Fakhr-u-din-Razi, to the vaulted tomb of Muhammad Sultan Shah. The fourth would represent the space which lies between the bridge of Anjil and the bridge of Karad. The fifth may be reckoned equivalent to the space which lies between the garden of Zaghan and the bridge of the river Jakan. The sixth fortification would comprehend the distance between the gate of the king and that of Firozabad. The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others, and occupies ground ten times greater than the chief market of Hirat. In that is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute parasangs, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and the western gates. Between the first, second and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazars are closely crowded to-

gether. By the palace of the king there are four bazars situated opposite to one another. That which lies to the north is the imperial palace or abode of the Rai. At the head of each bazar, there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides. Sweet scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazar.

—*Elliot and Dowson: Mattau-s Saduin of Abdu-r Razzak.*

48. VASCO DA GAMA AND THE ZAMORIN OF CALICUT

(1498)

The captain (Vasco Da Gama) told him (the Zamorin) he was the ambassador of the king of Portugal, who was the lord of many countries and the possessor of great wealth of every description, exceeding that of any king of these parts; that for a period of sixty years his ancestors had annually sent out vessels to make discoveries in the direction of India, as they knew that there were Christian kings there like themselves. This, he said, was the reason which induced them to order this country to be discovered, not because they sought for gold or silver, for of this they had such abundance that they needed not what was to be found in this country. He further stated that the captains sent out travelled for a year or two, until their provisions were exhausted, and then returned to Portugal, without having succeeded in making the desired discovery. There reigned a king now whose name was Dom Manuel, who had ordered

him to build three vessels, of which he had been appointed captain-major, and who had ordered him not to return to Portugal until he should have discovered this King of the Christians, on pain of having his head cut off. That two letters had been entrusted to him to be presented in case he succeeded in discovering him, and that he would do so on the ensuing day; and finally that he had been instructed to say by word of mouth that he (the King of Portugal) desired to be his friend and brother.

In reply to this the king said that he was welcome; that on his part, he held him as a friend and brother, and would send ambassadors with him to Portugal. This latter had been asked as a favour, the captain pretending that he would not dare to present himself before his king and master unless he was able to present at the same time, some men of this country.

These and many other things passed between the two in this chamber, and as it was already late in the night, the king asked the captain with whom he desired to lodge, with Christians or Moors. And the captain replied, neither with Christians nor with Moors, and begged as a favour that he be given a lodging by himself. The king said he would order it thus, upon which the captain took leave of the king and came to where we were, that is, to a veranda lit up by a huge candle-stick. By that time four hours of the night had already gone.

—*The Roteiro: Trans. E. G. Ravenstein.*

49. INDIAN PIRATES IN THE WESTERN SEAS

(1519)

The year (i. e. 1519) there was performed an exploit near Ceuta, inconsiderable with regard to the number of men, but great and illustrious because of the intrepidity with which it was executed. There were two pirates, inhabitants

of India, and brothers, who with a couple of large ships had for four years greatly infested the straits of Gibraltar and the neighbouring coasts of Africa. Gomez Sylvis Vascancelo was at this time Governor of Ceuta. One of the pirates lay in ambush amongst the opposite islands, whilst the other kept out at sea, and gave notice to his brother, when there was occasion for his assistance. Vascancelo having received intelligence of this, immediately fitted out two small brigantines. One he gave to Andrew Vascancelo and the other to Michael Sylvis, his two sons. Ceuta stands on a narrow bridge of land which runs out into the sea, so that the city has two harbours, one on the eastern and the other on the western side. The brigantines being fitted out in the western haven, the Governor ordered his sons to double the point and try to surprise the enemy. Michael, the youngest, according to his instructions, was the first to make the attack. Both were fired with the utmost zeal to execute their father's orders, yet both deviated from his counsel. The younger sailed on in the utmost hurry and did not choose to wait till his brother came up; the elder, on the other hand, was far from making that expedition which the occasion required. Michael in the most undaunted manner set upon the enemy. They, being more numerous, their ships larger, their commanders of no less experience than boldness, and all their men well skilled in sea-affairs, looked with contempt on the brigantine. There ensued a desperate engagement, but our people being at last filled with the utmost consternation, hid themselves in the hold. The Governor at this time rode along the coast with a party of horse to observe the fight, and when he saw Michael in such distress he called aloud and made signals to his other son to make all haste to the assistance of his brother. But before Andrew could come up, Michael had driven the enemy from his vessel and disengaged her from the pirate. Having roused his men from their lurking holes, he reproached them for their cowardice,

and at length inspired them with courage. He then made another attack on the enemy, and, the two ships having grappled each other, the fight was renewed with redoubled fury. The pilot of the brigantine was killed, and his son, together with another relation, suffered also the same fate. Pedro Vieira was likewise desperately wounded. Four of the enemy jumped upon the forecastle of the Portuguese vessel. Michael, however, catching hold of a spear, threw it amongst them with great force. Luckily it struck one of the pirate brothers in the throat and killed him instantly. The other three still remained, but Michael, taking up another spear, attacked and drove them overboard, and again disentangled himself from the enemy's ship. Then running towards the stern to consult the pilot what was proper to be done, he found him and several others dead, and when he looked about for Vieira, a most horrible spectacle presented itself to his eyes. This unhappy man was lying in the utmost agony with his entrails hanging out of his belly. As he was a man of age and experience, Michael asked his advice in the present juncture. 'Go,' answered Vieira, 'drive those cowards from their holes who have again hid themselves, and, since you are left alone, ply your oars with the utmost vigour, and make off from impending destruction.' He accordingly again brought forth those shameful poltroons from their retreats. But the pirates, seeing several of our people killed, some disabled with wounds, and others behaving in such a dastardly manner, renewed the attack on the brigantine. Meanwhile Andrew Vasconcelo appeared. The sight of him greatly discouraged the enemy, who being likewise tired of fighting and disheartened with the loss of their commander, sheered off. Michael Sylvio now consulted Vieira whether he should pursue the enemy. Vieira advised him to make towards the land, and by this means to endeavour to drive the pirates on the shelves. He accordingly followed his advice. The enemy, being not a little frightened,

with all their sails and oars made towards the opposite shore. Many of them jumped overboard, the greatest part of whom were drowned. Eight swam ashore and were made prisoners by the Governor of Ceuta. Thus, before Andrew Vasconcelo came up, his brother had finished the whole affair. This youth is certainly worthy of the highest encomiums, nor do I know which to praise most, his bravery, which was so great that he alone, or with the assistance of a few, and these weakened with wounds, did so nobly withstand such fierce and desperate enemies, or his modesty which would allow him to do nothing without consulting those whom he thought superior to himself in age and experience."

—J. Osorio: *The History of the Portuguese*—Trans.
S. C. Hill—*The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII.

NOTE. The extract shows that the "natives of India were not wholly destitute of enterprise at a time when the Portuguese were introducing European adventures to the rich plunder offered by eastern trade."

50. BABER'S ADDRESS TO HIS TROOPS ON THE EVE OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT

(1526 A. D.)

"Gentlemen and soldiers,—Every man that comes into the world must pass away; God alone is immortal, unchangeable. Whoso sits down to the feast of life must end by drinking the cup of death. All visitors of the inn of mortality must one day leave this house of sorrow. Rather let us die with honour than live disgraced.

With fame, though I die I am content,

Let fame be mine, though life be spent.

God most high has been gracious in giving us this destiny, that if we fall we die martyrs, if we conquer we triumph in His holy cause. Let us swear with one accord by the great

name of God that we will never turn back from such a death or shrink from the stress of the battle, till our souls are parted from our bodies."

—*Baber's Memoirs*—*Trans. Leyden and Erskine.*

51. BABER'S WILL

"O son, the kingdom of India is full of different religions, praised be God that He bestowed upon thee its sovereignty. It is incumbent on thee to wipe all religious prejudices off the tablet of the heart. Administer justice according to the ways of every religion. Avoid especially the sacrifice of the cow by which thou canst capture the hearts of the people of India, and subjects of the country may be bound up with royal obligations.

"Do not ruin the temples and shrines of any community which is obeying the laws of Government. Administer justice in such a manner that the King be pleased with the subjects and the subjects with the King. The cause of Islam can be promoted by the weapons of obligations rather than by the sword of tyranny.

"Overlook the differences of the Shias and Sunnis; else the weakness of Islam is manifest.

"And let the subjects of different beliefs be harmonised in conformity with the four elements of which the human body is harmoniously composed, so that the body of kingdom be free from different diseases. The memoirs of Timur, the Master of Conjunction, should always be before thine eyes, so that thou mayst become experienced in the affairs of administration."

1st Jamadiul Awwal, 935 A. H.

52. ADMINISTRATION OF SHER SHAH

From the day Sher Shah was established on the throne, no man dared to breathe in opposition to him; nor did any

one raise the standard of contumacy or rebellion against him; nor was any heart-tormenting thorn produced in the garden of his kingdom; nor was there any of his nobles or soldiery, or a thief or a robber, who dared to direct the eye of dishonesty to the property of another; nor did any theft or robbery ever occur in his dominions. Travellers and wayfarers, during the time of Sher Shah's reign, were relieved from the trouble of keeping watch; nor did they fear to halt even in the midst of a desert. They encamped at night at every place, desert or inhabited, without fear; they placed their goods and property on the plain, and turned out their mules to graze, and themselves slept with minds at ease and free from care, as if in their own house; and the *zamin-dars*, for fear any mischief should occur to the travellers, and that they should suffer or be arrested on account of it, kept watch over them. And in the time of Sher Shah's rule, a decrepit old woman might place a basket full of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey, and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of the punishments which Sher Shah inflicted. "Such a shadow spread over the world, that a decrepit person feared not a Rustam". During his time, all quarrelling, disputing, fighting and turmoil, which is the nature of the Afghans, was altogether quieted and put a stop to throughout the countries of Roh and of Hindustan. Sher Shah, in wisdom and experience, was a second Haidar. In a very short period he gained the dominion of the country, and provided for the safety of the highways, the administration of the Government, and the happiness of the soldiery and people. God is a discerner of righteousness!

—*Elliot and Dowson: Tarikh-i Sher Shahi of 'Abbas Khan, Sarwani.*

53. THE BATTLE OF TALIKOTA (1565 A.D.)

Ramraj, though he saw this formidable union of the Mussulmans against him, did not descend in the least from his former haughty language, but treated the Mahomedan ambassadors with scorn, regarding their enmity as of little moment. In the first instance he detached his youngest brother Yeltumraj, with twenty thousand cavalry, five hundred elephants, and one hundred thousand foot, to occupy the right bank of the Krishna, and secure all the passages of the river. He also sent his second brother Venkatadry with another equally large army, himself following by slow marches with the whole power of his dominions. The allies, finding that all the known ferries and fords were thus pre-occupied by the enemy, despatched spies to explore the river, in hopes of finding some place at which they might be able to cross their troops; it was at length fully ascertained that the only safe passage for the army was directly in the enemy's front, which was in his possession, and who had constructed field-fortifications, strengthened by cannon and fire-works, on the opposite bank. On obtaining this information the allies held a council, when it was determined that they should march to another part of the river, as if with the intention to cross, in hopes that the enemy might be induced to quit his position and follow, when the Mahomedans might return suddenly, and throw part of the army across at the desired fort without interruption. Agreeably to this plan, the army of Islam moved on the next morning, and continued to march for three days successively, which completely deceived the enemy, who quitted all his posts, and manoeuvred along the opposite bank of the river. The allies, on the third night, suddenly struck their camp, and moved with such rapidity, that during the next day, they gained the ford which the enemy had deserted, and crossed

the river without opposition. On the next morning they made a forward movement to within ten miles of the camp of Ramraj; who, though somewhat astonished at their activity, was by no means dismayed, but commanded his brothers to fall back and join him. The allies now drew up their army in order of battle. The right wing was intrusted to Ally Adil Shah, the left to Ally Bereed Shah and Ibrahim Kootb Shah, and the centre to Hoossein Nizam Shah. The artillery, fastened together by strong chains and ropes, was drawn up in front of the line, and the war elephants were placed in various positions, agreeable to custom. Each prince erected his particular standard in the centre of his own army, and the allies moved in close order against the enemy.

Ramraj entrusted his right wing to his brother Yeltumraj, to oppose Kootb Shah, and his left wing to his other brother Venkatadry, against Ally Adil Shah, while he himself commanded the centre. Two thousand war elephants and one thousand pieces of cannon were placed at different intervals of his line. About noon, Ramraj mounted a sing'hasun, in spite of the remonstrances of his officers who wished him to be on horseback, as much safer; but he said, there was no occasion for taking precaution against children, who would certainly fly on the first charge. Both armies being in motion soon came to battle, and the infidels began the attack by vast flights of rockets and rapid discharges of artillery, which did not discourage the allies. On this, the action became general, and many were slain on both sides. Ramraj, experiencing a very different reception to what he expected, descended from his sing'hasun, and seating himself on a rich throne set with jewels, under a canopy of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and adorned with fringes of pearls, caused his treasurer to place heaps of money around him, that he might confer rewards on such of his soldiers as merited the distinction; rich ornaments of gold and jewels were also placed before him for the same purpose. The

infidels, inspired by the generosity of their prince, charged the right and left of the allies with such vigour, that they were thrown into temporary disorder; and Ally Adil Shah and Ibrahim Kootb Shah began to despair of victory, and even to prepare for retreat. Hoossein Nizam Shah, however, remained firm in the centre, and pushed on so ardently that the division of Ramraj was thrown into confusion, on which the Ray, although seventy years of age, again mounted his sing'hasun, which was soon after abandoned by the bearers on the approach of a furious elephant belonging to Hoossein Nizam Shah; and before he had time to recover himself and mount a horse, a party of the allies took him prisoner, and conducted him to Chuleby Roomy Khan, commanding the artillery. This officer brought him before Hoossein Nizam Shah, who ordered his head to be instantly struck off and caused it to be placed on the point of a long spear, that his death might be thus announced to the enemy. The Hindoos, according to the custom, when they saw their chief destroyed, fled in the utmost disorder from the field, and were pursued by the allies with such success, that the river was dyed red with their blood. It is computed, by the best authorities, that above one hundred thousand infidels were slain during the action and in the pursuit. The plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses, and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired, reserving the elephants only for their own use. Letters with accounts of this important victory were despatched to their several dominions, and to the neighbouring states, while the kings themselves, shortly after the battle, marched onwards into the country of Ramraj, as far as Anagoondy; and the advanced troops penetrated to Beejanuggur, which they plundered, razed the chief buildings to the ground, and committed every species of excess. When the allies had destroyed all the country around, Venkatadry, who escaped

from the battle to a distant fortress, sent humble entreaties, to the kings, to whom he agreed to restore all the places which his brother had wrested from them; and the victors being satisfied, took leave of each other at Rachore, and returned to their respective dominions. The kingdom of Beejanuggur since this battle had never recovered its ancient splendour; the city itself was so destroyed that it is now totally in ruins and uninhabited; while the country has been seized on by the tributary chiefs, each of whom hath assumed an independent power in his own district.

—*Briggs: Ferishta's Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India.*

54. THE TEN YEARS' SETTLEMENT

From the commencement of the immortal reign (of Akbar), persons of integrity and experience have been annually employed in preparing the current prices for his Majesty's information, and by which the rates of collection were determined; but this mode was attended with great difficulties.

When Khajih Abdul Majeed Asaf Khan was raised to the *Vizarat* (x), the *Jumma* of the lands was only computed, and he increased the *Tunkhas* just as he thought fit. As at that time the empire was but a small extent, the exigencies of the servants of the crown were accumulating daily; and the *Tunkhas* were levied partially, according to the particular views of corrupt and self-interested people.

But when this great office was entrusted to the joint management of Raja Tudermall and Mozeffer Khan, in the 15th year of the reign, they appointed ten canoongoos, to collect the accounts of the provincial canoongoos, and which were brought to the royal exchequer. Then having taken from the canoongoos the *Tukseem Mulk* or divisions of the empire, they estimated the produce of the lands, and formed a new *Jumma* (y).

This settlement is somewhat less than the former one; however there had hitherto been a wide difference between the settlement and the receipts.

When through his Majesty's prudent management, the bounds of the empire were greatly enlarged, it was found very difficult to procure the current prices every year from all parts of the kingdom, and the delays that this occasioned in making the settlement, were productive of many inconveniences. Sometimes the husband-men would cry out against the exorbitancy of the demands that were made upon them; and on the other side those who had *Tunkhas* to collect would complain of balances. His Majesty in order to remedy these evils effectually, directed that a settlement should be concluded for ten years; by which resolution, giving ease to the people, he procured for himself their daily blessings.

For the above purpose, having formed an aggregate of the rates of collection from the commencement of the 15th year of the reign to the twenty-fourth inclusive, they took a tenth part of that total as the annual rate for ten years to come.

From the twentieth to the twenty-fourth year, the collections were made upon grounds of certainty; but the five former ones were taken from the representations of persons of integrity; and moreover during that period the harvests were uncommonly plentiful, as may be seen in the tables of the 19th year's rates.

—*Ayeeen Akbary*—*Trans. F. Gladwin.*

55. THE FIRST SIEGE OF AHMADNAGAR

(1596 A. D.)

When the Prince Moorad Mirza heard of the assemblage of this force at Shahdoorg (he and his commander-in-chief having lately disagreed on some subjects), he assembled a council of war, when it was resolved that the fort should be

attacked as soon as possible, before the allies could relieve it. In a few days, five mines were accordingly carried under the bastions on one face of the fort; they were all charged with gunpowder, and built up with mortar and stones, excepting where the train was to be laid by Tuesday night, the 1st of Rujub, and it was resolved on the following morning to explode them.

During the night, Khwaja Mahomed Khan Shirazy, admiring the resolution of the besieged, and unwilling they should be sacrificed, made good way to the walls, and informed them of their danger. The garrison immediately commenced counter-mining at the instance of Chand Beeby who herself showed the example; and by daylight they had destroyed two mines, and were searching for the others, when the Prince Moorad Mirza, without communicating with Khan Khanan, ordered out the line, and resolved to storm without him. The besieged were in the act of removing the powder from the third mine which was the largest, when the Prince ordered them to be sprung. Many of the counter-miners were killed, and several yards of the wall fell. Immediately as the breach was made, many of the principal officers of the besieged prepared for flight. Chand Beeby, on the contrary, put on armour, and with a veil on her face, and a naked sword in her hand, flew to defend the breach. This instance of intrepidity brought back the fugitives, who now one and all joined her; and as the Prince and the Mogul storming party were waiting for the springing of the other mines, time was afforded to the besieged to throw rockets, powder and other combustibles into the ditch, and to bring guns to bear upon the breach.

The Moguls at length advanced to storm. An obstinate defence took place at the foot of the breach, where the assailants suffered severely from the heavy fire of the besieged. The ditch was nearly filled with dead carcasses; and although several storming parties succeeded each other from four

o'clock in the evening till night-fall, they were successfully repulsed. The feats of the valiant heroine, Chand Beeby, who had been seen by all defending the breach, became the subject of universal admiration and conversation in the enemy's lines. From that day, the Regent, who had been always called Chand Beeby, now acquired the title of Chand Sooltana. During the whole night she superintended in person the repairs of the breach, and by dawn of day it was built up to the height of seven or eight feet. On the following day she despatched letters to the allied armies, then at Beer, to hasten their approach, representing the distress of the garrison for supplies. These despatches fell into the enemy's hands, who forwarded them to their destination, with a letter from the Prince Moorad, inviting them to hasten, as he was most anxious to meet them. "The sooner," said he, "the better."

The allies, on receiving these letters, marched by the Manickdown hills to Ahmudnuggur. By this time the Mogul camp, already much distressed for provisions, became more so from the approach of the allies, who continued to circumscribe the resources of the besiegers. The Prince Moorad, therefore, thought it advisable to make overtures to the fort and agreed to quit the country on condition of receiving a grant for the cession of Berar, the sovereignty of which was required to be formally renounced by Ahmudnuggur. Chand Sooltana at first refused these terms; but upon reflecting that if the allies were defeated, she might not obtain even such conditions, she signed the treaty in the name of Bahadur Shah; and the Moguls retreated by the route of Dowlatabad, and the Jeipoor Kotly Ghat.

—Briggs: *Ferishta's Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India.*

56. SIR THOMAS ROE'S RECEPTION AT THE
MOGUL COURT

(1615)

At the Durbar I (Sir Thomas Roe) was led right before him (Jehangir); at the entrance of an outward rail, there met me two principal noble slaves to conduct me nearer. I had required, before my going, leave to use the customs of my country, which was freely granted, so that I would perform them punctually. When I entered within the first rail, I made a reverence; entering in the inward rail, another; and when I came under the King, a third. The place is a great court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little gallery overhead; ambassadors, the great men and strangers of equality within the innermost rail under him, raised from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and silk; underfoot laid with good carpets: the meaner men representing gentry, within the first rail; the people without, in a base court, but so that all may see the King. This setting out hath so much affinity with a theatre, the manner of the King in his gallery; the great men lifted on a stage, as actors; the vulgar gazing on, that an easy description will inform of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull interpreter, bidding me a welcome to the brother of my master. I delivered His Majesty's letter translated; and after my commission, whereon he looked curiously; after my presents, which were well received. He asked some questions; and, with a seeming care of my health, offered me his physicians, and advising me to keep my house till I had recovered strength, and if, in the interim, I needed anything, I should freely send to him and obtain my desires. He dismissed me with more favour and outward grace, if by the Christians I were not flattered, than ever was shown to any ambassador either of the Turk or Persian or other whatsoever.

—Roe's Embassy to the Great Mogul.

57. SHAHJAHAN IN PRISON

(1658—1666)

Going thus several times into the fort, I noted the imprisonment of Shahjahan was closer than can be expressed. There passed not a day, while I and others were in conversation with the governor, that there did not come under-eunuchs to whisper into his ear an account of all the words and acts of Shahjahan, and even what passed among the wives, ladies, and slave-girls. Sometimes, smiling at what the eunuchs told him, he would make the company sharers in what was going on inside, adding some foul expressions in disparagement of Shahjahan. Not content with this even, he sometimes allowed it to be seen that he treated him as a miserable slave. Once an under-eunuch came to tell him that Shahjahan was in want of "papuz", which are slippers without heels; such as Muhammadans wear. He ordered several pairs to be brought, and the tradesmen produced several different kinds of "papuz", some of leather worth half a rupee, some of plain velvet, and some of velvet more or less embroidered. Some were worth as much as eight rupees, a very small thing for a great king like Shahjahan, even when in prison. In spite of this the eunuch, immeasurably stingy, sent him shoes neither of eight rupees, nor of four, nor of two, but the common leather shoes. He smiled over it as if he had done some great deed; and it was a great deed, being after the nature of his friend Aurangzeb who knew from this eunuch's physiognomy the vileness of his soul, and selected him to receive charge of his greatest enemy in the world, his father, so that by force of ill-treatment, the wretched old man (Shahjahan) might die.

I do not know how it was with the others who were present when this was done, but I certainly felt it much. I knew the dignity with which Shahjahan had lived when he was free and Emperor of Hindustan; it was doubly sad

when one remembered that I'tibar Khan was formerly a slave of this same Shahjahan by whom he was given to Aurangzeb.

—*Manucci's Storia Do Mogor: Trans. William Irvine—*
Abridged Edition.

58. THE MANNER OF TRAVELLING IN INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

I come now to the manner of travelling in India, to which purpose they make use of oxen instead of horses, and there are some, whose pace is as easy as the amble of our hackneys. But you must take a care, when you either buy or hire an ox to ride upon, that the horns be not above a foot in length. For if they be longer, when the flies begin to sting, he will chafe, and toss back his horns, and strike them into the stomach of the rider, as oftentimes it had happened. These oxen are rid like our horses, and instead of snaffles or bits, they have only a rope drawn through the muscly part of the muzzle or nostrils. In firm ground where there are no stones, they never shoe their oxen; but only in rough places, where not only the stones, but the heat will waste and chop the hoof. Whereas in Europe we tie our oxen by the horns, the Indians only put a thick truss upon their necks, and keep fast a collar of leather four fingers broad, which they have nothing to do but to put about their necks when they fasten them to the waggon.

They use also for travel little coaches, but very light, that will hold two persons; but generally they ride alone for more ease, carrying only their necessary cloak-bags along with them; with a small vessel of wine, and a small quantity of provisions, for which there is a proper place under the coach, where they tie the two oxen. These coaches have their curtains and seats like ours, yet are not hung: but in my last travels I caused one to be made after our

manner; and the two oxen that drew it cost me near upon six hundred rupees. Nor is the reader to wonder at the price; for there are some of these oxen that are very strong, and that will travel upon the trot twelve or fifteen leagues a day for sixty days together. When they have gone half the day's journey, they give them two or three balls, as big as one of our two-penny loaves, of wheat kneaded up with butter and black sugar. The hire of a coach comes to a rupee a day more or less. From Surat to Agra is forty days' journey, and you pay for the whole journey from forty to forty-five rupees. From Surat to Golconda, being almost the same distance, the same price is observed; and by the same proportion you may travel over all the Indies.

They who have more to spend for their own ease make use of a palanquin, wherein they travel very commodiously. This is a sort of little couch six or seven foot long, and three broad, with balusters round about it. A sort of cane, called bamboo, which they bend like an arch, sustains the covering of the palanquin, which is either of satin or cloth of gold; and when the sun lies upon one side, a slave that goes by the side takes care to pull down the covering. Another slave carries at the end of a long stick a kind of target of osier, covered over with some gentile stuff, to preserve the person that is in the palanquin, from the heat of the sun when he turns and lies upon his face. The two ends of the bamboo are fastened on both sides to the body of the palanquin between two sticks joined together like a Saltir or St. Andrews-cross, every one of those two sticks being five or six foot long. There are some of these bamboos that cost two hundred crowns; I myself have paid a hundred and twenty. Three men for the most part apply themselves to each of these two ends to carry the palanquin upon their shoulders; some on the right, and some on the left, and they go swifter than our sedan-men, and with a much more easy pace, as being that which they practise from their

youth. You give to every one for all things not above four rupees a month; but it stands you in above five if the journey be long, and exceed sixty days' labour.

Whether it be in a coach, or palanquin, he that will travel honourably in the Indies, must take along with him twenty or thirty armed men, with bows and arrows, some others with muskets; and they have the same rate with those that carry the palanquin. Sometimes for more magnificence they carry a banner, as the English and Hollanders do, for the honour of their companies. These soldiers are not only for show, but they watch for your defence, keeping sentinels, and relieving one another, and are very studious to give content. For you must know that, in the towns where you take them into service, they have a chieftain, that is responsible for their fidelity, who for his good word has two rupee a piece of every one.

In the great villages there is generally a Muhammadan that commands, of whom you may buy mutton, pullets, or pigeons. But where there live none but banians, there is nothing but flour, rice, herbs and milk-meats to be had.

The great heats in India enforce the travellers, that are not accustomed to them, to travel by night, and rest in the day-time; when they come into any fortified towns, they must be gone before sun-set, if they intend to travel that night. For night coming on, and the gates being shut, the commander of the place, who is to answer for all the robberies that are committed within his jurisdiction, will let no person stir forth, telling them that is the King's order, to which he must be obedient. When I came to any of those towns, I brought my provisions, and went out again in good time, and stayed in the field under some tree, in the fresh air till it was time to set forward.

—*Tavernier's Travels in India: Trans. John Philips.*

59. AURANGAZEB—A CHARACTER SKETCH

AURENG-ZEBE, the third brother, was devoid of that urbanity and engaging presence, so much admired in Dara: but he possessed a sounder judgment, and was more skilful in selecting for confidants such persons as were best qualified to serve him with faithfulness and ability. He distributed his presents with a liberal but discriminating hand among those whose goodwill it was essential to preserve or cultivate. He was reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation. When in his father's court, he feigned a devotion which he never felt, and affected contempt for worldly grandeur while clandestinely endeavouring to pave the way to future elevation. Even when nominated Viceroy of the Deccan, he caused it to be believed that his feelings would be better gratified if permitted to turn *Fakir*, that is to say, a beggar, a Dervish or one who had renounced the world; that the wish nearest his heart was to pass the rest of his days in prayer or in offices of piety, and that he shrank from the cares and responsibility of government. Still his life had been one of undeviating intrigue and contrivance; conducted however, with such admirable skill, that every person in the court, excepting only his brother, Dara, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character. The high opinion expressed by Shah-Jehan of his son Aurangazeb, provoked the envy of Dara, and he would sometime say to his intimate friends, that, of all his brothers, the only one who excited his suspicion, and filled him with alarm was that Nemazi—or, as we should say, 'that bigot' that ever-prayerful one.

—Constable and Smith: *Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire* (1656-1668 A. D.).

60. SHIVAJI'S LETTER TO HIS FATHER

(1664)

At the service of father, with profound respects from Shivaji Raje:—

I have just received your letter blessing me in the following words:—

“You are aware of the critical situation in which I found myself a few years ago in the Bijapur Darbar on account of Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol having deserted the cause of religion and truth, and having treacherously joined the wicked Turkish party. By the grace of God, I got over the difficulty, kind providence having given you the strength to fight for swaraj and religion. Let me now inform you of fresh developments. Khawaskhan has again been despatched with an army to deal with you. He is supported in this expedition by Baji and Lakham Sawanth, who have sworn to overcome you. God Shiva and Goddess Amba are always your protectors and will, I am sure, give you victory. You must avenge all the previous wrongs on this occasion: I bless you, my worthy son.”

Immediately on receipt of this news I started with a body of soldiers to attack Baji Ghorpade at Mudhol. As I ravaged his province he collected his force and came for a fight. A very severe encounter ensued. Baji was killed and many were wounded. Having faced the situation in this manner, I annexed the Mudhol Panchmahal to my territory. Thereupon Khawaskhan marched upon me and I on my part answered his charge vigorously. A thick battle ensued, the enemy was completely routed and ran away back to Bijapur. I then decided to punish the Sawant for his wanton destruction of my cause, and started to plunder his territory and capture his forts and towns. The Portuguese of Goa sheltered him and from the fort of Fonda resisted my demands. I had to blow the fort out by gunpowder and capture it by sheer

force. Having conquered the territory of the Sawants, I invaded the Portuguese possessions. They negotiated for peace and presented me with some guns. The Portuguese and the Sawant could hold themselves no longer against me. They, then, sent an envoy, Pitamber Shenavi, to me for negotiating for peace which I agreed to, having only decided to take a half share of the revenue for my government and leave the other half to the Sawant. I also reminded him that he was a son of the Bhosles, and ought therefore to fight together with me for his country and religion. Everything, subsequently, went off as was settled, under your blessings.

—*Sardesai: Shivaji Souvenir.*

61. SHIVAJI TO HIS OFFICERS

(1678)

Shivaji Raje to the Jumledars, Havaldars and Karkuns and Officers in charge of the army stationed at Halvarna, in Chiploon, district Dabhol, Suhur year 1074. I, Shivaji Raje, have made arrangements for a cavalry regiment to be encamped at Chiploon, as it was not likely to go to the ghats, for the present. Owing to the encampment of this army at Chiploon all the corn and other necessities that were stored for the rainy season in the Subha of Dabhol, have been almost exhausted, causing in the country about Chiploon, considerable damage and no end of distress by the seizure of corn, grass and every other requirement. There are yet twenty days of the hot Vaishakh to pass. The severity of summer now prevents any change from the place. Provisions being urgently required, I have ordered the officers to collect whatever corn could be had from the various forts and thus make provision for men and horses. But if you sooner ask for corn, grass and other things in extravagant amount, and feed the horses unsparingly so long as

the provisions last, the result will be that when the supply is exhausted and when the rains set in, no fresh provision will be obtainable; the horses will be starved and will die for want of corn and grass. In other words, you will be the cause of ruining the horses. Your men will then begin to molest people of the adjacent districts. They will go to the cultivators, some will extort corn, some bread, some grass, some fuel and some vegetables. When you begin to make such encroachments, the poor families of these cultivators, will leave their homes and farms. Some will die of starvation. The result will be that you will be regarded as greater pests than even the Moghuls. Such will be the piteous condition of the people in your charge and the discredit will be entirely yours. You must, therefore, take note of all this: be he a footman or a cavalryman, 'every one of you should behave properly;' your men must not,—whether they are living with their regiments or in the various villages,—give the slightest trouble to the ryot. They must not move a single step out of the place they live in. Each should get only the fixed rations and no more. Whoever wants anything, whether it is corn, or in the case of those who keep cattle, grass, or fuel or vegetables or any other thing which is out for sale, should pay the proper price and then purchase it; if men go to the bazaar they should give the proper price and buy the required articles. No compulsion must be used or trouble given or alteration made with ryots and shop-keepers. The supplies given to the regiments must last till the end of the rainy season. The allotted rations which the karkuns will daily give out, should be taken quietly and nothing more should be asked, so that all will have sufficient to eat, the horses shall be kept fit and no one will starve. None must grumble and quarrel with the officers or trouble them for every trifling requirement. No one should enter the store-rooms or the room of the khasdars and make free use of the stores. The men with the horses must live wher-

ever they are housed and will continue to do so without grumbling. Some will make fires for cooking purposes at places where it would be dangerous to make them. Some will take away live coal for smoking their tobacco-pipes with, without minding the direction in which the wind might be blowing or the grass that might have been lying about, thus causing ruinous fires unexpectedly. If one shed catches fire, all the rest will soon be gutted too and be ruined. If the ends of the grass catch fire in one way or another, all the grass and the stacks will be completely burnt down. And then even if the throats of the cultivators are cut or the officers be peremptorily ordered, not a piece of timber will be got to construct the sheds; not a single shed can be constructed at a moment's notice. Therefore keeping this well in mind, the leading men amongst you must always keep a watch in the camp and see that nothing untoward happens while you are cooking food or burning grass. If light is kept at night, mice may accidentally take away the lighted wick and thereby cause mischief. You have to guard against all this. You have to see that fires do not unexpectedly break out. Every precaution that will save the grass and the sheds from fire must be taken. Then only can the horses live out the rainy season. If you fail in this, you will have no need to stable the horses and to feed them with grass and gram for the simple reason that the whole army will be no more. And you will have no work. Such will be the consequences. Therefore I write all this to you in great detail. All the leading Jumledars, Havaldars and Karkuns amongst you should hear this order, read out carefully and act with care. Often and often, day after day, you must look to all things and guard them. And whoever will fail in acting according to this order, whoever will be guilty of this offence, whoever will be reported to be a defaulter,—no Maratha or Brahmin will be spared of his honour, what to talk of service? Then understand, ye all, I shall not hesi-

tate to punish him severely. Keep this in mind and act accordingly.

—*Sardesai: Shivaji Souvenir.*

62. THE RISE OF THE SIKHS

In the year 1128 of the Hegira, being the fifth of Ferokhsiar's reign, a bloody action took place in the plains of the Punjab, between the Sikhs and the Imperialists, in which the latter, commanded by Abdul-semed-khan, viceroy of that province, gave those freebooters a signal defeat, and their general, Banda, fell into the victor's hands. This barbarian, whom nature had formed for a butcher, trusting to the numbers and repeated successes of those other butchers he commanded, had inflicted upon God's creatures cruelties exceeding all belief, and had laid waste the whole province of Lahore. Flushed with these victories, he even aspired to a crown. Banda was of the Sikh persuasion, attached to the tenets of Guru Govind. These people from their birth, or from the moment of their admission, if they enter as proselytes, never cut or shave either their beard or whiskers, or any hair whatever of their body. They form a particular society, which distinguishes itself by wearing blue garments, and going armed at all times. When a person is once admitted into that fraternity, they make no scruple of associating with him, of whatever tribe, clan, or race he may have been hitherto, nor do they betray any of those scruples and prejudices so deeply rooted in the Hindu mind. This sect or fraternity, which first became powerful about the latter end of Aurengzib's reign, has for its chief, Guru Govind, one of the successors of Nanak Guru, the founder of the sect. Nanak was the son of a grain merchant, of the Katri tribe, who in his youth was as remarkable for his good character as for beauty of his person, and for his talents. Nor was he destitute of fortune. There was then, in those parts, a dervish of note, called

Seid Hussein, a man of eloquence as well as of wealth, who having no children of his own, and being struck with the beauty of the young Nanak, conceived a great regard for him, and charged himself with his education. As the young man was early introduced to the knowledge of the most esteemed writings of Islam, and initiated into the principles of our most approved doctrines, he advanced so much in learning, and became so fond of his studies, that he made it a practice in his leisure hours, to translate literally and make notes and extracts of our moral maxims. Those which made the deepest impression upon him were written in the idiom of the Punjab, his maternal language. At length he connected them into order, and put them into verse. By this time he had so far shaken off those prejudices of Hinduism which he had imbibed with his milk, that he became quite another man. His collection becoming extensive it took the form of a book which he entitled Granth, and he became famous in the times of the Emperor Baber, from which time he was followed by multitudes of converts. This book is to this day held in so much veneration and esteem amongst the Sikhs, that they never touch or read it without assuming a respectful posture, and in reality, as it is a compound of what Nanak had found most valuable in those books which he had been perusing, and is written with much force, it has all the merit peculiar to truth and sound sense.

In times of yore, the religious persons of that fraternity could not be distinguished, either in their garb or their usages, from the Mussulman dervishes; nor is the difference easily perceptible even to this day. They live in communities both in villages and towns, and their habitations are called Sangats, where we always see some one who presides over the rest. Nanak, their patriarch, left only two children, one of whom, when grown up, used to amuse himself in hunting and in other pleasures, in which he has been imitated by his

descendants, all of whom are the reputed heirs of his propensities. The other son devoted himself to a religious life, and his followers live, to all intents and purposes, like so many Mussulman dervishes or fakirs. Nanak Guru had not for his immediate successor either the one or the other of his children, but only a servant of his house, called Angad, who succeeded to his authority. The ninth in succession from this Angad was one Tegh Bahadur, who drew multitudes after him, all of whom, as well as their leader, used to go armed. Finding himself at the head of so many thousand people, he aspired to sovereignty, and united himself to one Adam Hafiz, a Mussulman dervish of the fraternity of Shah Ahmed Serhindy. These two persons no sooner saw themselves at the head of many followers, than forsaking every honest occupation, they began to plunder and to lay waste the whole province of the Punjab; for whilst Tegh Bahadur levied contributions on the Hindus, Hafiz Adam did the same upon the Mussulmans. Their excesses having attracted the notice of emperor Aurengzib, he commanded the viceroy of the Punjab to seize these two leaders, with orders to send the Mussulman to Afghanistan, warning him not to cross the river Attock again under pain of death; while he directed that Tegh Bahadur, the other free-booter, should be sent prisoner to the fort of Gwalior. The governor executed his orders promptly. Some time after this, Tegh Bahadur suffered death; and his body being cut into four quarters, was exposed at the four gates of the fortress of Gwalior.

This act was followed by serious consequences. Hitherto the Sikhs wore only the religious garb, without any kind of arms. Guru Govind having succeeded to his father, reorganised his numerous bands into companies or troops, which he put under the command of his most confidential disciples, to whom he gave orders to provide themselves with arms and horses. As soon as he saw them accoutred and mounted, he commenced plundering the country and

raising contributions. This conduct did not go long unpunished: the foudjars of the province uniting, fell upon the free-booters, and dispersed them, and Guru Govind's two sons having fallen alive into their hands, were put to death. The father's situation was now become nearly as dangerous; hunted down like a wild beast, he retired to a stronghold; but he was precluded from escaping to his country and family beyond Sirhind, the intermediate country being full of troops. In this critical situation, he applied to the Afghans living beyond Sirhind, and promised them a large sum of money if they would conduct him to a place of safety. A number of these people accepted the proposal, and coming down from their mountains, recommended him to let his beard and whiskers, and the hair of every other part of his body, grow; and then clothing him in a short blue tunic like that worn by themselves, brought him out of his retreat, and carried him through the whole country in perfect safety. Whenever any one enquired who he was, they answered that he was one of their holy men of the town of Oucha. Guru Govind having been so lucky as to extricate himself out of this difficulty, retained the Afghan garb in memory of that event, and he henceforward made it the distinctive dress of his followers. No one was from that time received as a proselyte unless his hair and beard were long, and unless he adopted the garb of the proper pattern. The loss of his children affected Guru Govind so deeply that he shortly after died of grief. He was succeeded by Banda Guru, of whom we have before spoken.

—Briggs: *The Siyar-ul-Mutakherin of Mir Gholam Hussein Khan.*

63. MURDER OF FARRUKHSIYAR

(1719 A. D.)

Ferokh-siyar had retired within the apartment of the ladies, and the vezir with Ajit-sing was waiting in expecta-

tion of his coming out, to hear what further he had to say, and of his furnishing them with an opportunity to seize his person, when the tumults, that had apparently subsided, commenced afresh, and pillage and slaughter were renewed. Ferokh-siyar did not appear, and the viceroy, sensible of the fatal consequence of any further delay, sent message after message, representing to his brother that the tumults were increasing, that the throngs of armed men were becoming more numerous, that a general revolt was about to take place, and could not fail to defeat their purpose, and that therefore he ought to enter the city at once. Whilst this last message was delivering, a body of Afghan soldiers, mixed up with some of the vezir's slaves, found means from the top of the house of Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, the vezir's youngest brother, to descend within the yards of the king's female apartments, which proved to be guarded by a number of Abyssinian, Georgian, and Calmuc women. These being driven away, the soldiers penetrated within the gate, and every apartment was searched for Ferokh-siyar. At last some women, too delicate to bear the tortures to which they were exposed, pointed to the place of his confinement, and the soldiers ran to him. At this sight that emperor's mother, with his wife and daughter, unable to witness his seizure without emotion, ran to his assistance, with a number of princesses and ladies of the first rank; who, having enclosed him within a circle which they formed round his person, addressed the soldiers with prayers and entreaties. But of what avail could be their tears at such a moment? After some struggle, he was disengaged from the women, dragged upon the ground, and thrown into a small dark room on the top of the Tirpowliah: and all this with such outrage and indignity as had never before been offered to the Imperial person.

—Briggs: *The Siyar-ul-Mutakherin of Mir Gholam Hussein Khan.*

64. INDIA AND NADIR SHAH

(1739)

Saturday, 23rd May 1739 or 13th Vaigasi of Siddharti-M. Dupleix's ship, Chandernagore, arrived at noon this day from Surat, and brought the following intelligence. Tahmasp Quli Khan, of the tribe of Iran, who was, by the grace of God, the Shah of Persia, and governed his kingdom from Isfahan, increased in power to such a degree that he fought with the Sultan of Turkey, and vanquished him. He next turned his attention to the conquest of Delhi, and sent a defiant message to the Moghul Emperor, who challenged him to war. Tahmasp Quli Khan left Isfahan in 1738, with 60,000 cavalry, subdued various chiefs on his way—the Sultan of Turani amongst the number—and having levied tribute from them, marched against Lahore, the principal city of the empire of Delhi. The fort there fell into his hands. The Emperor was exceedingly wroth, and commanded the Nizam and other nobles subject to him to march against the invader: they offered battle to him, and were defeated. The news of this reverse only enraged the Emperor, who again urged his nobles to fight against the invader. But Tahmasp Quli Khan, who was favoured by Heaven, again proved victorious. He next marched against Delhi, captured the city, made the Emperor Muhammad Shah and the nobles prisoners, and one day ordered that he and the twenty or twenty-five nobles who had been captured, should be executed in public in the market place. He afterwards commanded that coins should be struck in his name, and that that of Muhammad Shah should be obliterated from the current money. A mandate was accordingly sent to the Nawab of Surāt, who was directed to suppress the coins struck by Muhammad Shah, and to issue new ones bearing

the legend "By the grace of God, Nadir Shah, Emperor." The Nawab of Surat was further commanded to issue his charters under the authority of the new Emperor, bearing a seal with the above inscription, and to inflict a fine of Rs. 600 on every one who uttered the name, "Tahmasp Quli Khan," when speaking of the new Emperor, who was henceforth to be designated "Nadir Shah, Emperor by the grace of God". On receipt of this mandate, the Nawab of Surat caused it to be proclaimed throughout the city, and ordered the issue of coins with the new legend. The old ones, as is known, had a circular rim, but the new ones were pointed at one end; and this too, it is said, was by the order of the new Emperor. Such was the intelligence made known by the Governor, the Councillors, and M. Elias, as having come from Surat. The ship which brought this news also carried the useful articles of merchandise.

If such, indeed, be the fate that befell the Emperor of Delhi, need we wonder at the calamities that overtake ordinary men? Of what avail is the power and wealth of kings on this earth? These are perishable. The Heaven of the ALL-merciful God is the only thing that endures. All others perish.

I have stated before that the Emperor of Delhi was beheaded. Later intelligence from there however contradicts this, although it confirms the rest of the news. It is now stated that he was only imprisoned. It is also said that the Nizam was secretly in league with the invader. A month later, the story came that Muhammad Shah was reinstated on the throne, that his daughter was married to the son of Tahmasp Quli Khan, and that the invader, after taking everything in the treasury of the Emperor, had crossed the Attock river, overrun Multan and Cabul, and was on his way to his own dominions. By the irruption of Nadir Shah many merchants at Delhi were impoverished. Many men were put to death, and many women committed suicide. It

is estimated that between 100,000 and 150,000 men and women perished in this way.

—*Price and Rangachari: The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai.*

65. BALAJI RAO, THE THIRD PESHWA

(1740—1761 A. D.)

When Baji Rao, in the year 1153 A. H. (1740 A. D.), on the banks of the river Narbadda, bore the burden of his existence to the shores of non-entity, his son, Balaji Rao, became his successor, and after the manner of his father, engaged vigorously in the prosecution of hostilities, or organization and equipment of a large army, and the preparations of all the munitions of war. His son continued to pass his days, sometimes at war, and at other times at peace, with the Nawab Asaf Jah. At length, in the year 1163 (1750 A. D.), Sahu Rao, the successor of Sambhaji, passed away, and the supreme authority departed out of the direct line of the Bonslas. Balaji Rao selected another individual of that family, in place of Sahu's son, to occupy the post of Raja, and seated him on the throne, whilst he reserved for himself the entire administration of all the affairs of the kingdom. Having then degraded the ancient chieftains from the lofty position they had held, he denuded them of their dignity and influence, and began aggrandizing the Kokani Brahmins who were of the same caste as himself. He also consulted his cousin, Sadasheo Rao, commonly called Baho Rao, his chief agent and prime minister. The individual in question was of acute understanding, and thoroughly conversant with the proper method of government. Through the influence of his energetic counsels, many undertakings were constantly brought to a successful issue, the recital of which would lead to too great prolixity. In short, besides holding the fortress of Bijapur, he took possession anew of Daulatabad, the seat of government of the

illustrious sovereigns, together with districts yielding sixty lacs of rupees, after forcibly wrestling it out of the hands of Nizamul-Mulk Nizam 'Ali Khan Bahadur. He likewise took into his service, Ibrahim Khan Gardi who had a well-organized train of European artillery with him.

—*Elliot and Dowson: Tarikh-i Ibrahim Khan.*

66. THE SIEGE OF PONDICHERRY

(1748 A. D.)

Tuesday, October 8 (26th Purattasi, Vibhava). At five o'clock this morning twenty-one English ships anchored abreast of the town and the fort; and soon after the Admiral's ship took up her position. The drums beat, and a red flag (the red flag was the signal for action) was hoisted at the main-mast with a great lighted lantern. The sailors drew up on one side of the ships, and from sunrise to sunset without interruption fired 36—, 32—, 28—, 24—, 18—, 16—, and 12—, pounders (according to the English reckoning). (In the night Lisle warped further in, so as to be able more effectively to cannonade the town). Also mortars threw shells of two hundred and fifty and one hundred and nine pounds from a sloop. It was like the deluge which, we read, will befall at the end of this yuga, when the seven clouds having drunk up the waters of the seven seas, will pour stone and fire upon the sacred Mount Meru with lightning and thunder. So the enemy poured 31,547 shot and 288 shells upon Pondicherry, a town mightier than Delhi or Agra, as though it had been Mount Meru. Moreover they fired from their western battery 2,500 shot and 770 shells. They fired storms of shot from east and west; and their cannon-balls were as omnipresent as God, for there was no place but was struck. The fire of the ships reached even the bound-hedge on the west, and the fire of the western battery reached the shore on the east. When the English thus manifested their power, our people answered once on both the east and west, but

Maharaja Raja Sri the Governor Avargal said, 'The English think that they can destroy the Fort by firing like this. We shall see how they get on. Do not fire in return.' On this, our people ceased their fire. By God's grace the English shot only killed 116 people and wounded 65, including the coolies and beggars who wander about without shelter, and others who had gone, for the sake of the reward, to pick up the cannon-balls. Just as thick darkness or deep snow vanishes at the brightness of the sun, the Protector of the World, so the deeds of the English vanished before the matchless bravery, strength, grandeur and might of Maharaja Raja Sri His Excellency Nawab Monsieur Chevalier Dupleix Bahadur Muzaffar Jang; Governor-General.

—H. Dodwell: *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. V.

67. THE SIEGE OF ARCOT

(1751 A. D.)

It was the 14th of November, and the festival which commemorates the murder of the brothers Hassein and Jassein happened to fall out at this time. This is celebrated by the Mahomedans of Indostan with a kind of religious madness, some acting and others bewailing the catastrophe of their saints with so much energy that several die of the excesses they commit; they are likewise persuaded, that whoever falls in battle, against unbelievers, during any of the days of this ceremony, shall instantly be translated into the higher paradise, without stopping at any of the intermediate purgatories. To the enthusiasm of superstition was added the more certain efficacy of inebriation; for most of the troops, as is customary during the agitations of this festival, had eaten plentifully of bang, a plant which either stupifies, or excites the most desperate excesses of rage. Thus prepared, as soon as the morning broke, the army of Rajah-saheb advanced to the attack. Besides a multitude that came with ladders

to every part of the walls that were accessible, there appeared four principal divisions. Two of these divisions advanced to the two gates, and the other two were allotted to the breaches.

Captain Clive, awakened by the alarm, found his garrison at their post, according to the dispositions he had made. The parties who attacked the gates drove before them several elephants who, with large plates of iron fixed to their foreheads, were intended to break them down; but the elephants, wounded by the musketry, soon turned, and trampled on those who escorted them. The ditch before the breach to the north-west was fordable; and as many as the breach would admit, mounted it with a mad kind of intrepidity, whilst numbers came and sat down with great composure in the *fausse-braye* under the tower where the field-piece was planted, and waited there to relieve those who were employed in the attack: these passed the breach, and some of them even got over the first trench before the defenders gave fire; it fell heavily, and every shot did execution: and a number of muskets were loaded in readiness which those behind delivered to the first rank as fast as they could discharge them. The two pieces of cannon from the top of the house fired likewise on the assailants, who in a few minutes abandoned the attack, when another body, and then another succeeded, who were driven off in the same manner: in the meantime bombs, with short fusees, which had been prepared and lodged on the adjacent rampart, were thrown into the *fausse-braye*, and by their explosion drove the crowd, who had seated themselves there, back again over the ditch. At the breach to the south-west the enemy brought a raft, and seventy men embarked on it to cross the ditch, which was flanked by two field-pieces, one in each tower: the raft had almost gained the *fausse-braye*, when Captain Clive observing that the gunners fired with bad aim, took the management of one of the field pieces himself, and in three or four

discharges, flung them into such confusion that they overset the raft, and tumbled into the ditch; where some of them were drowned, and the rest, intent only on their own preservation, swam back and left the raft behind.

In these different attacks the enemy continued the storm for an hour, when they relinquished all their attempts of annoyance at once, and employed themselves earnestly in carrying off their dead. Amongst these was the commander of their sepoys, who fell in the *fausse-braye* of the northern breach: he had distinguished himself with great bravery in the attack, and was so much beloved by his troops that one of them crossed the ditch and carried off his body, exposing himself during the attempt to the fire of 40 muskets, from which he had the good fortune to escape. It seemed as if the enemy expected that the garrison would permit them to fulfil this duty to their friends; but finding that they suffered severely in attempting it, they at last retreated and disappeared. Their loss during the storm was computed to be not less than 400 men killed and wounded, of which very few were Europeans, for most of the French troops were observed drawn up and looking on at a distance. Of the defenders, only four Europeans were killed and two sepoys wounded. Many of the garrison being disabled by sickness or wounds, the number which repulsed the storm was no more than 80 Europeans, officers included, and 120 sepoys; and these besides, serving five pieces of cannon, expended 12,000 musket cartridges during the attack.

Two hours after the enemy renewed their fire upon the fort, both with their cannon and with musketry from the houses: at two in the afternoon they demanded leave to bury their dead, which was granted, and a truce allowed until four: they then recommenced and continued their fire smartly till two in the morning, when on a sudden it ceased totally; and at daybreak, intelligence was brought that the whole army had abandoned the town with precipitation. On

receiving this joyful news, the garrison immediately marched into the enemy's quarters, where they found four pieces of artillery, four mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition, which they brought in triumph into the fort. During the time that the garrison were shut up in the fort, 45 Europeans, and 30 sepoy were killed, and a greater number of both wounded, most of whom suffered by the enemy's musketry from the houses.

Thus ended this siege, maintained 50 days, under every disadvantage of situation and force, by a handful of men in their first campaign, with a spirit worthy of the most veteran troops; and conducted by their young commander with indefatigable activity, unshaken constancy, and undaunted courage: and notwithstanding he had at this time neither read books, nor conversed with men capable of giving him much instruction in the military art; all the resources which he employed in the defence of Arcot were such as are dictated by the best masters in the science of war.

—*R. Orme: History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan.*

68. CLIVE AND THE AFFAIRS OF BENGAL

(1757 A. D.)

I gave you an account of the taking of Chandernagore; the subject of this address is an event of much higher importance, no less than the entire overthrow of Nabob Suraj-u-Dowlah, and the placing of Meer Jaffier on the throne. I intimated, in my last, how dilatory Suraj-u-Dowlah appeared in fulfilling the articles of the treaty. This disposition not only continued but increased, and we discovered that he was designing our ruin by a conjunction with the French. To this end Monsieur Bussy was pressingly invited to come into this province, and Monsieur Law of Cossimbazar (who before had been privately entertained in his service) was ordered to return from Patna.

About this time some of his principal officers made overtures to us for dethroning him. At the head of these was Meer Jaffier, then Bukshee to the army, a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested. As we had reason to believe this disaffection pretty general, we soon entered into engagements with Meer Jaffier to put the crown on his head. All necessary preparations being completed with the utmost secrecy, the army, consisting of about one thousand Europeans, and two thousand sepoy, with eight pieces of cannon, marched from Chandernagore on the 13th and arrived on the 18th at Cutwa Fort, which was taken without opposition. The 22nd in the evening, we crossed the river, and landing on the island, marched straight for Plassey Grove, where we arrived by one in the morning. At day-break, we discovered the Nabob's army moving towards us, consisting, as we since found, of about fifteen thousand horse, and thirty-five thousand foot with upwards of forty pieces of cannon. They approached apace, and by six began to attack with a number of heavy cannon, supported by the whole army, and continued to play on us very briskly for several hours, during which our situation was of the utmost service to us, being lodged in a large grove, with good mud banks. To succeed in an attempt on their cannon was next to impossible, as they were planted in a manner round us, and at considerable distances from each other. We therefore remained quiet in our post in expectation of a successful attack upon their camp at night. About noon, the enemy drew off their artillery, and retired to their camp, being the same which Roy Dullub had left but a few days before, and which he had fortified with a good ditch and breastwork. We immediately sent a detachment, accompanied with two field-pieces, to take possession of a tank with high banks, which was advanced about three hundred yards above our grove, and from whence the enemy had considerably annoyed us with some cannon managed by

Frenchmen. This motion brought them out a second time; but on finding them make no great effort to dislodge us, we proceeded to take possession of one or two more eminences lying very near an angle of their camp, from whence, and an adjacent eminence in their possession, they kept a smart fire of musketry upon us. They made several attempts to bring out their cannon, but our advanced field-pieces played so warmly and so well upon them, that they were always driven back. Their horse exposing themselves a good deal on this occasion, many of them were killed, and amongst the rest four or five officers of the first distinction, by which the whole army being visibly dispirited and thrown into some confusion, we were encouraged to storm both the eminences and the angle of their camp, which were carried at the same instant, with little or no loss; though the latter was defended (exclusive of blacks) by forty French and two pieces of cannon; and the former by a large body of blacks, both foot and horse. On this, a general rout ensued, and we pursued the enemy six miles, passing upwards of forty pieces of cannon they had abandoned, with an infinite number of hackeries, and carriages filled with baggage of all kinds. Suraj-u-Dowlah escaped on a camel, and reaching Moorshedabad early next morning, despatched away what jewels and treasure he conveniently could, and he himself followed at midnight, with only two or three attendants.

It is computed there are killed of the enemy about five hundred. Our loss amounted to only twenty-two killed, and fifty wounded, and those chiefly blacks. During the warmest part of the action we observed a large body of troops hovering on our right, which proved to be our friends; but as they never discovered themselves by any signal whatsoever, we frequently fired on them to make them keep their distance. When the battle was over, they sent a congratulatory message, and encamped in our neighbourhood that night. The next morning Meer Jaffier paid me a visit, and

expressed much gratitude at the service done him, assuring me, in the most solemn manner, that he would faithfully perform his engagement to the English. He then proceeded to the city, which he reached some hours before Suraj-u-Dowlah left it.

As, immediately on Suraj-u-Dowlah's flight, Meer Jaffier found himself in peaceable possession of the palace and city, I encamped without, to prevent the inhabitants from being plundered or disturbed; first at Maudipoor, and afterwards at the French factory at Sydabad. However, I sent forward Messrs. Watts and Walsh to inquire into the state of the treasury, and inform me what was transacted at the palace. By their representations I soon found it necessary for me to be present, on many accounts; accordingly, I entered the city on the 28th, with a guard of two hundred Europeans and three hundred sepoy, and took up my quarters in a spacious house and garden near the palace. The same evening I waited on Meer Jaffier, who refused seating himself on the musnud till placed on it by me; which done, he received homage as Nabob from all his courtiers. The next morning he returned my visit; when, after a good deal of discourse on the situation of his affairs, I recommended him to consult Jugget Seit on all occasions, who being a man of sense, and having by far the greatest property among all his subjects, would give him the best advice for settling the kingdom in peace and security.

On this, he proposed that we should immediately set out together to visit him, which being complied with, solemn engagements were entered into by the three parties, for a strict union and mutual support of each other's interests. Jugget Seit then undertook to use his whole interest at Delhi (which is certainly very great), to get the Nabob acknowledged by the Mogul, and our late grants confirmed; likewise to procure for us any firman we might have occasion for.

The substance of the treaty with the present Nabob is as follows:—

1stly. Confirmation of the mint, and all other grants and privileges in the treaty with the late Nabob.

2ndly. An alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies whatever.

3rdly. The French factories and effects to be delivered up and they never permitted to resettle in any of the three provinces.

4thly. 100 lacs of rupees to be paid to the Company, in consideration of their losses at Calcutta and the expenses of the campaign.

5thly. 50 lacs to be given to the English sufferers at the loss of Calcutta.

6thly. 20 lacs to Gentoos, Moors, etc., black sufferers at the loss of Calcutta.

7thly. 7 lacs to the Armenian sufferers.

These three last donations to be distributed at the pleasure of the Admiral and gentlemen of Council, including me.

8thly. The entire property of all lands within the Mah-ratta ditch, which runs round Calcutta, to be vested in the Company; also, six hundred yards, all round, without the said ditch.

9thly. The Company to have the zemindary of the country to the south of Calcutta, lying between the lake and river, and reaching as far as Culpee, they paying the customary rents paid by the former zemindars to the government.

10thly. Whenever the assistance of the English troops shall be wanted, their extraordinary charges to be paid by the Nabob.

11thly. No forts to be erected by the government on the river side, from Hooghley downwards.

12thly. The foregoing articles to be performed without delay, as soon as Meer Jaffier becomes Subadar.

On examining the treasury, there were found about 150

lacs of rupees, which being too little to answer our demands, much less leave a sufficiency for the Nabob's necessary disbursements, it was referred to Jugget Seit, as a mutual friend, to settle what payment should be made to us; who accordingly determined, that we should immediately receive one half of our demand,—two thirds in money and one third in gold and silver plate, jewels, and goods; and that the other half should be discharged in three years, at three equal and annual payments.

The part to be paid in ready money is received and safely arrived at Calcutta; and the goods, jewels, etc., are now delivered over to us; the major part of which will be bought back by the Nabob for ready money, and on the remaining there will be little or no loss. A large proportion was proposed to have been paid us in jewels; but as they are not a very saleable article, we got the amount reduced one half, and the difference to be made up in money.

It is impossible as yet to form a judgment how much the granted lands will produce you, as the Europeans are quite ignorant of the extent of the country between the river and lake; but, in order to give you some idea of the value, I'll venture to estimate it at ten lacs per annum. An officer on the part of the Nabob is already dispatched to Calcutta to begin the survey in company with one of ours.

Suraj-u-Dowlah was not discovered till some days after his flight; however, he was at last taken in the neighbourhood of Rajamahul, and brought to Moorsshedabad on the 2nd inst., late at night. He was immediately cut off by order of the Nabob's son, and (as it is said) without the father's knowledge. Next morning the Nabob paid me a visit, and thought it necessary to palliate the matter on motives of policy; for that Suraj-u-Dowlah had written letters on the road to many of the *jamadars* of the army, and occasioned some commotions among them in his favour.

Monsieur Law and his party came as far as Rajamahul to

Suraj-u-Dowlah's assistance, and were within three hours' march of him when he was taken. As soon as they heard of his misfortunes, they returned by forced marches; and, by the last advices, had passed Patna, on the other side of the river. A party of Europeans and sepoys were quickly dispatched after them; but I am doubtful if we shall be able to overtake them before they get out of the Nabob's dominions. Strong letters have been written from the Nabob to the Naib of Patna, to distress them all in his power, and to take them prisoners if possible. A compliance with which I am in anxious expectation of.

I ought to observe that the French I spoke of in the action were some fugitives from Chandernagore, who had assembled at Sydabad. It was by their advice, and indeed by their hands, that the English factory at Cossimbazar was burned and destroyed, after our gentlemen had quitted it on the renewal of the troubles.

The present Nabob has every appearance of being firmly and durably seated on the throne. The whole country has quietly submitted to him, and even the apprehension of an inroad from the side of Delhi is vanished; so that this great revolution, so happily brought about, seems complete in every respect. I persuade myself the importance of your possessions now in Bengal will determine you to send out, not only a large and early supply of troops and good officers, but of capable young gentlemen for the civil branches of your business.

—Colonel Clive to the Secret Committee of the Directors,
26th July, 1757.

69. THE THIRD BATTLE OF PANIPAT

(1761 A. D.)

Both sides having arrayed their troops in line, stood confronting each other till noon, when..... the ranks of the two armies appeared clearly to each other's sight. Then

the gallant youths, entering upon the martial strife, commenced the battle and dealt out lusty blows, whilst the expert gunners of European birth kindled the flames of war by discharging their under-voiced ordinance, and the rocketmen of magical skill consumed the thread of life of the heroes of the battle-field by darting their falcon-winged missiles. As for a musket bullet, the heroes cared not what it might do, and in that scene of carnage and slaughter the only dread entertained by the renowned and gallant combatants was for a cannon-ball, or the flight of a rocket.

From noon until only three gharis of the day remained, the battle continued to rage, the brave warriors being earnestly engaged in wielding sword and spear, and the wounded in yielding up with groans and agonizing cries. Bhao and Wiswas Rai, in the early part of the engagement, made such incessant assaults, that Ahmad Sultan was under an apprehension that he would not be able to withstand them, and despatched a person to mount the ladies of his household on fleet steeds swift as the wind, and keep them waiting inside his private pavilion; so that, whenever the infidels should gain the superiority, they might be ready to pursue the path of flight, and betake themselves to the verge of safety and the nook of security. That day, however, Mahmud Khan Gurd Bulbas, who was chief eunuch, Kulal-rakashi, and commander of eight or nine thousand dauntless and blood-thirsty Kazalbash horse, was posted in rear of Ahmad Sultan. He having planted his foot firmly on the plain of contention, caused great slaughter with his keen-edged sword. Through the reiterated charges of the Khan and his adherents, the pagan Mahrattas were unable to push on a step in advance of the position they had first assumed; and at this juncture an order was given to the *samburakchis* and *jazailchis*, not to be slack in keeping up their fire, but to consume the harvest of the enemy's lives with the flame of their bullets. At length, by Ahmad

Sultan's good fortune, one zamburak ball struck Wiswas Rai on the forehead, and another hit Bhao on the side. From these bullet wounds both of them quickly pursued the road to the realms of perdition, and betook themselves to the lowermost pits of hell; while the rest subsided into the sleep of annihilation through the sword cuts inflicted by the Kazalbash youth.

In a word, as soon as the Mahratta army perceived its chieftains travelling the desert of perdition, turning its face from the field of battle, it pursued the path of flight; and in an instant the scene of strife and bloodshed became cleared and purified, like the surface of a mirror, from the foulness of the vile infidels' presence. Couriers then conveyed the information to Shah Pasand Khan that the worthless pagan Mahrattas had fled, and not one of them was left remaining on the field. Jhanku and Malhar, who were two mighty chiefs, having planted firmly the foot of stability kept fighting at the head of a lac of horsemen, in front of Shah Pasand Khan; so the latter, being re-animated with the news of the infidels' retreat, charged the chiefs opposed to him, and was occupied for two gharis in dealing forth blows and taunts on them. Eventually they came to the determination of fleeing, and taking the route to the Deccan, they departed from the field of battle. The Irani and Durrani warriors, who were with Shah Pasand Khan, pursued them; excepting the author of this work, who remained standing close by him. At last Shah Pasand Khan remarked that he was going to offer his congratulations to Ahmad Sultan, and told me to go and carry off some booty for myself.

When the author had thus received permission, he put his horse to the gallop in company with a cousin of his own, and one attendant; and on reaching their camp, found about 30,000 infantry matchlockmen, or even more, going along with matchlocks at their backs, and naked swords in their hands. We three individuals passed through the midst of

them, however, and after seizing two strings (katar) of laden camels, by which is meant fourteen of these beasts of burden, we returned again through the midst of that multitude numbering upwards 30,000 souls, and so greatly were they inspired with terror and consternation, that they had not the power to use their weapons. Stranger still, whilst returning to our own camp, a Mahratta chief, who had been stationed in the hindmost ranks of their army, and was fleeing towards the Deccan with six or seven thousand horse, happened to meet us three individuals. With a view to save ourselves from harm, we fired off our three matchlocks; whereupon that force turned away from us, and proceeded in a different direction. The author together with his two companions, took from them a couple more camels, one of which carried a cattle-drum, and the other forage; and we re-entered our camp in safety and security just as five gharis of the night were past, at which time the glad sounds of the kettle-drums were reverberating through the ethereal sky from the army of Ahmad Sultan and the chieftains of Hindustan.

In this battle, out of the Mahratta leaders, Shamsheer Bahadur, who was the Peshwa's son, and Ibrahim Khan Gardi, who had 30,000 Tilanga Gardis under his command, together with the Governor of the Province of Gujarat Ahmadabad, met their deaths. Out of that vast army too, consisting of three lacs and fifty thousand cavalry and infantry, only 50,000 souls succeeded in returning to the Deccan, after undergoing a thousand hardships and difficulties; while the remainder pursued the path of perdition, either in the field or on the road, through the swords of the holy warriors.

—*Elliot and Dowson: Tarikh-i Manazilu-l Futach of Muhammad Jafar Shamlu.*

70. THE GRANT OF THE DIWANI OF BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA

(1765 A. D.)

At this happy time our royal *Firmaund*, indispensably requiring obedience, is issued; that whereas, in consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the Dewanny of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift and *ultumgau*, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the Dewanny, which used to be paid to the Court. It is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Nadjum-ul-Dowla Behadur, and regularly remit the same to the royal Circar; and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the Provinces of Bengal, etc., we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said Provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees to the royal Circar, and providing for the expenses of the Nizamut. It is requisite that our royal descendants, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, Muttaseddes of the Dewanny, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jaghirdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be assured from dismissal or removal, they must, on no account what-

soever, give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewanny and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos, the 12th of August, 1765.

—*Firman from Shah Alam.*

71. AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA (1776 A. D.)

We are informed from unquestionable authority that an enterprise of trade is in agitation by Mr. William Bolts (formerly in our Service in Bengal) under Imperial Colours, and the protection of the Queen of Hungary, in a large ship, *late the Earl of Lincoln*, now named *the Joseph and Theresa*, which towards the end of June last imported at Leghorn from Lisbon, where besides considerable quantities of goods before shipped, ordnance, ammunition and all kinds of military stores to a great amount were received on board, with a very valuable proportion of merchandise, consisting principally of copper, iron and steel brought thither by two Danish and Dutch ships from Trieste, and as the Florentine Gazette, published by authority, avows "belonging to a company erected in Germany to carry on commerce between Trieste and the coast of Coromandel, where the House of Austria means to establish a new factory." We are also given to understand that a number of Austrian soldiers, Lutherans, were to be embarked at Leghorn on board the said ship, which left that port the 25th of September last with her consort, an English brigantine, laden with provisions for the voyage, and that both were from the Canary Islands to continue their course to the coast of Coromandel.

It remains for us by the present opportunity in the strongest manner to recommend to your serious and speedy

consideration either separately or conjunctively with our other presidencies, to pursue the most effectual means that can be fully justified to counteract and defeat the same, observing at the same time that this commerce is not contrary to any treaty at present subsisting.

It will be particularly necessary to counteract this scheme in the beginning, because if the adventurers meet with but indifferent success in this first essay, it may discourage them from future attempts.

If their design to settle shall prove to be in the neighbourhood of your presidency, we particularly rely on your weight and efforts with the Country (Native) Powers to render their scheme abortive.

We further especially recommend the stopping all commercial and other intercourse of our covenant servants and all under our protection with the persons who conduct this expedition or are concerned therein, and to prevent the latter from being furnished by any persons subject to your authority with money, goods, stores, or any other assistance conducive to the execution of their plan, and in case of the breach of any orders issued in this behalf, it is left with you to show a resentment adequate to the nature of the offence.

As there are sufficient reasons to conclude several British subjects are employed in the expedition, who are, by the laws of this kingdom now in force, liable to be arrested and brought to Great Britain if found in the East Indies without our licence, we direct that you put such laws into force.

You will receive from us or our agents, by every opportunity in the course of the season, what further intelligence shall offer on this object, that such measures may be taken as shall appear expedient in consequence thereof."

—*Letter of the East India Company dated 24th December, 1776—The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLVI.*

72. THE SURRENDER OF MANGALORE TO TIPPOO (1783 A. D.)

The son of Hyder marched from Bangalore with all the ardour of a young man who burns with a desire for glory. He quickly arrived in the kingdom of Canara, whose people, alarmed but full of confidence in the son of their king, ran before him as the man on whom their safety depended. Animated by the acclamations of the people the young prince continued his way to Mangalore, causing all the troops to follow him that he found in his way, and who assembled from all parts. His march was so rapid, and the fidelity of the Canarins was such, that he came in sight of the English camp before they had received any advice. He perceived the tumult and fear his sudden appearance had made. Without waiting for repose after his fatiguing march, he advanced, drove back the guards, attacked the army, totally routed and pursued them to the gates of Mangalore, where his cavalry entered pell-mell with the fugitives. Three thousand infantry, just come up, were astonished to find the English camp abandoned. They plundered the camp and the town of everything they found, which the prince allowed, to punish the inhabitants for refusing to assist in the defence of the city. The rout of this English army was so great, that very few had time to make their escape on board the ships, to which they communicated their fears. Their flight added to the ardour of Hyder's Europeans and Sepoys who immediately embarked and took three transports.

In this manner was the whole English army taken, consisting of the general, forty-six officers, six hundred and eighty English troops, and above six thousand sepoys, together with all their arms and baggage. This glorious event for Hyder happened the eighth day after the capture of Mangalore. It is difficult to conceive how a victory of this nature could be gained; or how, during the space of thirty

days, the English general could neglect the taking possession of some advanced posts, which would have given him advice of the approach of the enemy.

Hyder arrived the evening after the victory; and his son had nothing to say but, with Caesar "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" It is said he wept for joy when he embraced his son.

—*M. M. D. L. T. and Prince Gholam Mohamad: The History of Hyder Shah.*

73. THE TREATY OF SERINGAPATAM

(1792 A. D.)

By the council and unanimous opinion of these confederated Powers, the terms of agreement were arranged on the following basis, *viz.*—that the Sultan should cede territory to the amount of three crores of rupees and pay a similar amount in money;—that until the payment of the aforesaid money, one of the gates of Seringaputun should be given up and remain in charge of the English troops, or otherwise, that the Sultan should send certain of his sons, as hostages for the satisfaction of the three confederated Powers, to the *Sipahsalar* of the English army. The prudent and clear-sighted Sultan, seeing the affairs of his kingdom ruined by the villainy and neglect of his ungrateful and traitorous Amirs and Chiefs, of necessity was obliged to accept these terms, and the countries of the Barh Mahl, Suleem Atoorantgiri, Sankli Droog, Dindigul, Kalikote, etc., were surrendered to the English; and the whole of the districts of Kirpa, Tar Puttri, Tar Muri, and Bullari, were given up to Nizam Ali Khan, and all the country on the other side of the river Tungabhadra, was consigned to the Mahrattas, and one crore of rupees in money, with presents and dresses of honour was sent out to the confederates, and agreeably to the request of the English Commander-in-Chief, Mazuddin Sultan and Abdul Khalik Sultan, the sons of the Sultan, under the guardianship of Gholam Ali Khan, and Maham-

mud Ruza Khutib Arkati, were appointed ambassadors (hostages) and sent off to the General, and these wise and learned envoys, by fair and specious speeches and words of apology, cleared the royal road of friendship and peace from the dirt and rubbish of suspicion and enmity, and, having pleased confederates with presents and offerings, caused their removal from the city of Seringaputtun.

—*Mir Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani: The History of Tipu Sultan—Trans. W. Miles.*

74. THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL (1793 A. D.)

From

The Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors.

March 6, 1793.

We think this a proper opportunity to observe that if at any future period the public exigencies should require an addition to your resources, you must look for this addition in the increase of the general wealth and commerce of the country, and not in the augmentation of the tax upon the land. Although agriculture and commerce promote each other, yet in this country, more than in any other, agriculture must flourish before its commerce can become extensive. The materials for all the most valuable manufactures are the produce of its own lands. It follows therefore that the extent of its commerce must depend upon the encouragement given to agriculture, and that whatever tends to impede the latter destroys the two great sources of its wealth. At present almost the whole of your revenue is raised upon the lands, and any attempt to participate with the landholders in the produce of the waste lands would (as we have said) operate to discourage their being brought into cultivation, and consequently prevent the augmentation of articles for manufacture or export. The increase of cultivation (which

nothing but permitting the landholders to reap the benefit of it can effect) will be productive of the opposite consequences.....

From the proceedings which we shall forward to you by the next despatch, you will find that we have anticipated your wishes respecting the *pottas*, to be granted by the landholders to the ryots. It is with pleasure we acquaint you that throughout the greater part of the country specific agreements have been exchanged between the landholders and the ryots, and that where these writings have not been entered into, the landholders have bound themselves to prepare and deliver them by fixed periods. We shall here only observe that under the new arrangements to which we shall presently advert, the ryots will always have it in their own power to compel an adherence to the agreements by an appeal to the courts of justice, whenever the landholders may attempt to infringe them.....

With respect to those landholders with whom a ten years' settlement has been concluded, the announcing to them that their *jamma* is fixed for ever, will not only incline them to pay their current revenue with cheerfulness, but add to their ability to discharge it by the credit which they will obtain from the increased value of their tenures. On the other hand the declaration will not fail to render the few landholders who have not entered into engagements, eager to secure to themselves the same valuable rights and privileges.

For the above reasons we should think it impolitic to delay the declaration that you have empowered us to make, the announcing of which will, we are persuaded, be considered as the commencement of the era of improvement and prosperity in this country..... We shall likewise, to prevent any future misconception, expressly reserve to you the right of establishing and collecting any internal duties that you may hereafter think proper to impose. We shall further declare (although a clause to that effect has been inserted in

the engagements with the landholders) that you do not mean, by fixing the public demand upon the lands, to debar yourselves from the exercise of the right inherent in you as sovereigns of the country, of making such regulations as you may occasionally think proper for the protection of the ryots and inferior landholders, or other orders of people concerned in the cultivation of the lands.

—*Charles, First Marquis of Cornwallis. Ed. Ross.*

75. THE BATTLE OF KHARDA

(1795 A. D.)

(Letter from the Resident at the Peshwa's Court)

Hon'ble Sir,

In my address of yesterday was mentioned that the report of a warm cannonade was heard in the evening.

At 2 A. M. this morning a message reached me from the Minister, that an action had happened with the Nizam's forces in which the Peshwa's army was victorious. At the same time and subsequently various reports have reached me, of which the following is the substance:—

That the Nizam had begun to move in the morning with an intention to change his ground; that the Marathas in the pursuit of the advantages of such an occasion had likewise got into motion. That the centre under Parshuram Bhau and Baba Fadkia joined Kashirav Holkar, had attacked a part of His Highness's line of march about 3 P. M. but Parasuram Bhau had been wounded and lost some of his nearest relations and companions, that the Nizam's troops pursuing and having driven the flying party beyond the Maratha line, of which Doulatrav Scindia formed the left and Raghoji Bhonsla the right wing, their flank and rear wing became exposed to the fire of the numerous cannon of Daulatrav Scindia, and to the no less numerous of Raghoji Bhonsla in which their career being checked, they were on

the close of the day forced to retreat with some precipitation and considerable loss to their own army.

It is reported that great numbers fell on both sides, that a chief of eminence on the part of the Nizam was slain; that Raja Leyjiwant is a prisoner; Rav Rambha wounded: but these reports want confirmation, as also those of the capture of five elephants and two guns by the Marathas.

In addition to this unfavourable news I am sorry to learn that Govindrav Penglish (Pingle?) the person despatched hence on the 9th for the ostensible purpose of visiting the Nizam's camp with a view to accommodation, returned hither this morning, which I attribute to his having been prevented moving on the line intended, while subsequent events have rendered his mission unnecessary.

Having detained this letter till this afternoon, in hopes of further information, I have the concern to add that advice has just reached me of His Highness having retreated precipitately by the Mohurn Ghat, through which he descended the 3rd and 4th instant by which means the greater part of his camp and artillery have fallen into the hands of this army.

I have the honour to be,

Hon'ble Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

C. W. MALET

Camp on the Seyna River,
12th March 1795.

—G. W. Forrest: *Extracts from the Letters, etc. preserved in the Bombay Secretariat—Maratha Series Vol. I.*

76. THE EARL OF MORNINGTON'S REFLECTIONS ON THE FALL OF SERINGAPATAM

(1799 A. D.)

The Earl of Mornington to the Court of Directors,
Fort St. George, 11th May 1799.

Honourable Sirs,

No particular comment is required from me to illustrate the numerous advantages which cannot fail to flow from the brilliant and decisive achievement announced to your Honourable Court in the despatch of the Governor-General in Council of this date. But I cannot refrain from offering to you my separate and most cordial congratulations on an event, the glory of which has never been surpassed (if it has ever been equalled), in the history of the military transactions of the British nation in India.

The fall of Seringapatam, under the circumstances which accompanied that court, has placed the whole of the kingdom of Mysore, with all its resources, at the disposal of your Government; and the only power in India to which the French could look for assistance, or which could be deemed formidable to your interests, is now deprived of all vigour, if not entirely extinct. When your Honourable Court reflects that these advantages have been acquired within four months from the date of my arrival at this Presidency, and within two from the period of the army's entrance into Mysore, I trust you will be of opinion that your servants have not been deficient in alacrity or diligence.

When Lieutenant-General Harris took the field, I thought it my duty to invest him with the most efficient and extensive powers which it was possible for me to delegate; and he has carried with him to the gates of Seringapatam the full vigour and energy of your supreme Government. To the judicious exercise of this ample authority, combined with the liberal supplies which had been provided for the army, may be

ascribed in a great measure the unparalleled rapidity and promptitude of its operations. I have the further satisfaction to add that the particular detail of those operations, which I shall hereafter submit to your Honourable Court, will furnish the most brilliant examples of judgment, skill, discipline, firmness and valour, under many trials, of all those distinguished qualities.

The dreadful fate of Tippoo Sultan cannot be contemplated without emotions of pain and regret; but I trust it will serve as a salutary lesson to the native Princes of India, and will prove the danger of violating public engagements, and inviting foreign invasion for the prosecution of schemes of ambition and hatred against the British power. He was interred within his own capital on the day following its capture, in the mausoleum of his father, with the honours of war, paid to his remains by the British army. I am persuaded that your Honourable Court will derive peculiar satisfaction from the intelligence that his family and palace suffered no insult or violence during the hour of the assault, and have since been protected with the utmost care.

I have the honour to be etc.,

MORNINGTON.

—*Martin: The Dispatches, Minutes and the Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley, Vol. I.*

77. THE TREATY OF BASSEIN

(1802 A. D.)

Between the East India Company and the Peshwa,

December 31, 1802.

1. The peace, union and friendship so long subsisting between the two states, shall be perpetual. The friends and enemies of either, shall be the friends and enemies of both.

2. If any power or state whatever shall commit any act of unprovoked hostility or aggression against either of the

contracting parties, or against their respective dependents or allies, and after due representation, shall refuse to enter into amicable explanation then the contracting parties will proceed to concert and prosecute such further measures; as the case shall appear to demand. For the more distinct explanation and effect of this arrangement the Governor-General in Council on behalf of the Honourable Company, hereby declares, that the British Government will never permit any power or state whatever to commit with impunity, any act of unprovoked hostility or aggression against the rights and territories of His Highness Rao Pundit Pardhan Bahadur.

3. With a view to fulfil this treaty..... His Highness agrees to receive, and the Company to furnish, a permanent subsidiary force of not less than six thousand regular native infantry, with the usual proportion of field pieces, and European artillery-men attached, and with the proper equipment of warlike stores and ammunition, which force is to be accordingly stationed in perpetuity in his said Highness's territories.

4. For the regular payment of the whole expense of the said subsidiary force, his Highness.....hereby assigns and cedes in perpetuity to the Company, all the territories detailed in the schedule annexed to this treaty.....

9. The subsidiary force will at all times be ready to execute services of importance—such as the protection of the person of his Highness, his heirs and successors, the overawing and chastisement of rebels, or excitors of disturbance in his Highness's dominions, and due correction of his subjects or dependents, who may withhold payment of the sarkar's just claims; but it is not to be employed on trifling occasions, nor to be stationed in the country to collect the revenues, nor against any of the principal branches of the Mahratta Empire, nor in levying contributions from Mahratta dependents.....

11. Whereas it has been usual for his Highness.....to enlist and retain in his service Europeans of different countries, his Highness hereby agrees that in the event of war breaking out between the English and any European nation, and of discovery being made that any European or Europeans in his service, belonging to such nation at war with the English, shall have meditated injury towards the English, or have entered into intrigues hostile to their interest, such European or Europeans, so offending, shall be discharged by his Highness, and not suffered to reside in his dominions.....

14. Whereas a treaty of friendship and alliance has been concluded between the Company and Raja Anand Rao Gaekwar Bahadur, and whereas the said treaty was mediated and executed, without any intention that it should infringe any of the just rights or claims of his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhan Bahadur affecting the Sarkars of the said Raja, his said Highness.....doth hereby formally acknowledge the existence of the said treaty between the Company and the Raja.....and inasmuch as.....various demands and papers of accounts are found to subsist between the Government of his Highness.....and the Sarkar of the Raja, his Highness, placing full reliance on the impartiality, truth, and justice of the British Government, doth hereby agree that the said government shall examine into, and finally adjust the said demands and papers of accounts; and his Highness further binds himself.....to abide by such adjustment as the British Government shall accordingly determine.....

17. As, by the present treaty, the union and friendship of the two states is so firmly connected, that they may be considered as one and the same, his Highness.....engages neither to commence nor to pursue in future, any negotiations with any other power whatever, without giving previous notice, and entering into mutual consultation, with the

Company's Government; and the Company's Government, on their part, hereby declare that they have no manner of concern with any of his Highness's children, relations, subjects, or servants, with respect to whom his Highness is absolute.

78. LORD MINTO'S FOREIGN POLICY

The object proposed is to conciliate the Princes who govern the states of Kabul and Lahore, to obtain their consent to the passage of our troops through their country, or their admission into their territories, for the purpose of opposing a French army in their projected invasion of Hindostan; and our hope also is to establish such defensive engagements with those Governments as may obtain their co-operation, or at least their friendly aid and assistance, to our military operations and to our cause generally.....

I am persuaded that the Commander-in-Chief will agree with me in considering it at least as questionable whether in the event of Kabul and Lahore proving hostile, or becoming so, it would be advisable to penetrate through their countries or to enter them at all.

It is well known that the habitual and undistinguishing jealousy which is the personal character of Ranjit Singh, and is said to characterise also the regions in which his territories are situated, has been directed specifically against the British Government.....

It is the business of the proposed mission of Mr. Metcalfe to remove these suspicions, and to plant in their room the seeds of confidence and union. This must be done in my opinion by a frank, open, and sincere avowal of our ultimate objects; and the best support which can be given to our negotiation must be a scrupulous and delicate conduct in every point of our intercourse with him.....

With regard to Kabul the objection is precisely similar. With the King of that country we have never had any inter-

course whatever. I hope that a sense of common danger, and a real identity of interests, may in the very able hands to which this mission is committed, become a foundation of solid union and of zealous and efficient co-operation. But here the work of confidence is to begin. All is yet to do, and I rely for success—here as at Lahore—only on the candid explanation of our true and real purpose, countenanced and supported by a general sincerity of demeanour and by the absence of all those traces of indirect and collateral design which, while they frequently fail in their own object, are very apt to frustrate and disappoint every other with which they are in any way connected.

—*Lord Minto in India*—Ed. *The Countess of Minto*.

79. DEPOSITION OF BAJI RAO II

(1818)

June 1st.—Bajee Rao, the late Peishwa, is in the neighbourhood of Assear-gurh, with a slender force. His troops were so dispirited, and so harassed by the constant pursuit which they had suffered, that large bodies quitted him with the professed purpose of going to their homes in the Poonah state, and submitting to the British Government. Chimnajee Appa (Bajee Rao's brother) and Appa Dessye Nepaunkur, one of the principal Maratta chiefs, carried off their followers with this intention some time ago. They have since surrendered themselves to Mr. Elphinstone. Bajee Rao's object in crossing the Tapti and taking his present course, was to push for Gwalior. He trusted that his appearance there, and the influence of his office upon Scindhia's Sirdars, would force the Maharaja to take the field in his favour. All the passes, however, are so well watched by competent corps, that Bajee Rao has found the plan impracticable. Unable to retire again across the Tapti on account of Brigadier-General Doveton's arrival on the opposite bank, Bajee Rao has sent a negotiator to Sir J. Malcolm. He has

been informed that he can never be permitted to hold again a public station. If he shall surrender himself, he will be suffered to reside at Benares, with a fit allowance for the maintenance of a household becoming a person of rank; but if his decision be not immediate he will be attacked. Our detachments are closing round him. The fear of passing the rest of his days in confinement, which, were he taken, would be his lot in punishment of his wanton and venomous treachery, will probably make him throw himself on our mercy. What a proud situation he has lost through devotion to a low, illiterate, and profligate favourite! It is not probable that Scindhia's governor of Aseer-gurh will admit Bajee Rao into it. He knows that we possess the Maharaja's order for the surrender of it to us, though the course of affairs rendered it unnecessary for us to enforce it; and were that order now to be brought forward, the Killedar's disobedience to it would place him in the light of a rebel. The speedy reduction of Mundelah by Major-General Marshall, and of Chanda by Lieutenant-Colonel Adams holds forth to the Killedar an intelligible warning, that by sheltering the ex-Peishwa in his fort (which would entail immediate attack from us), he would only hopelessly involve himself in a worse condition than that of the fugitive."

June 17th.—Bajee Rao has submitted and placed himself in the hands of Sir John Malcolm. He had been so surrounded that resistance or retreat was equally impossible.

—*The Marshioness of Bute: The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings.*

80. THE EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES

You judge right in thinking that your resignation of the office of President of the Board of Control is an event in which I must take "some little interest," for no event could have happened in which I could have taken more. I lament

it deeply, both on public and private grounds. I should, even if I had not seen your letter to your constituents, have concluded without hesitation that your motives were just, but I should not the less have regretted the loss to the nation.

I trust that we shall soon again see you filling some high office; but I confess I would rather see you in your former one than any other, for my own situation becomes doubly valuable, when it is held under a man whose name communicates some show of reputation to all his subordinates.

I always dread changes at the head of the India Board, for I fear some downright Englishman may at last get there who will insist on making Anglo-Saxons of the Hindus. I believe there are men in England who think that this desirable change has been already effected in some degree, and that it would long since have been completed had it not been opposed by the Company's servants. I have no faith in the modern doctrine of the rapid improvement of the Hindus, or of any other people. The character of the Hindus is probably much the same as when Vasco da Gama first visited India, and it is not likely that it will be much better a century hence. The strength of our Government will, no doubt, in that period, by preventing wars so frequent in former times, increase the wealth and population of the country. We shall also, by the establishment of schools, extend among the Hindus the knowledge of their own literature, and of the language and literature of England. But all this will not improve their character; we shall make them more pliant and servile, more industrious, and perhaps more skilful in the arts—and we shall have fewer banditti, but we shall not raise their moral character. Our present system of government, by excluding all natives from power, and trust, and emolument, is much more efficacious in depressing, than all our laws and school-books can do in elevating, their character. We are working against our own

designs, and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve, and a powerful one to deteriorate. The improvement of the character of a people, and the keeping of them, at the same time, in the lowest state of dependence on foreign rulers to which they can be reduced by conquest, are matters quite incompatible with each other.

There can be no hope of any great zeal for improvement when the highest acquirements can lead to nothing beyond some petty office, and can confer neither wealth nor honour. While the prospects of the natives are so bounded, every project for bettering their character must fail; and no such projects can have the smallest chance of success unless some of those objects are placed within their reach, for the sake of which men are urged to exertion in other countries. This work of improvement, in whatever way it may be attempted, must be very slow, but it will be in proportion to the degree of confidence which we repose in them, and in the share which we give them in the administration of public affairs. All that we can give them, without endeavouring our own ascendancy, should be given. Our real military power must be kept in our own hands; but they might, with advantage hereafter, be made eligible to every civil office under that of a member of the Government. The change should be gradual, because they are not yet fit to discharge properly the duties of a high civil employment, according to our rules and ideas; but the sphere of their employment should be extended in proportion as we find that they become capable of filling properly higher situations.

We shall never have much accurate knowledge of the resources of the country, or of the causes by which they are raised or depressed. We shall always assess it very unequally, and often too high, until we learn to treat the higher class of natives as gentlemen, and to make them assist us accordingly in doing what is done by the House of Com-

mons in England, in estimating and apportioning the amount of taxation.

—*Letter of Sir Thomas Munroe to the Right Hon.
G. Canning, dated June 30, 1821.*

81. BISHOP HEBER ON INDIAN CIVILIZATION

To say that the Hindoos or the Mussalmans are deficient in any essential feature of a civilised people is an assertion which I can scarcely suppose to be made by any who have lived with them. Their manners are, at least, as pleasing and courteous as those in the corresponding stations of life among ourselves; their houses are larger, and, according to their wants and climate, to the full as convenient as ours; their architecture is at least as elegant, and, though the worthy Scotch divines may doubtless wish their labourers to be clad in 'hoddie grey', and their gentry and merchants to wear powder and mottled stockings, like worthy Mr. and the other elders of his kirk-session, I really do not think that they would gain either in cleanliness, elegance, or comfort, by exchanging a white cotton robe for the completest suit of dittos. Nor is it true that in the mechanic arts they are inferior to the general run of the European nations. Where they fall short of us (which is chiefly in agricultural implements and the mechanics of common life) they are not, so far as I have understood of Italy and the south of France, surpassed in any great degree by the people of those countries. Their goldsmiths and weavers produce as beautiful fabrics as our own; and it is so far from true that they are obstinately wedded to their old patterns, that they show an anxiety to imitate our models, and do imitate them very successfully. The ships built by native artists at Bombay are notoriously as good as any which sail from London or Liverpool. The carriages and gigs which they supply at Calcutta are as handsome, though not as durable, as those of Long Acre. In the little

town of Monghyr, three hundred miles from Calcutta, I had pistols, double-barrelled guns, and different pieces of cabinet work brought down to my boat for sale, which in outward form (for I know no further) nobody but perhaps Mr..... could detect to be of Hindoo origin; and at Delhi, in the shop of a wealthy native jeweller, I found brooches, earrings, snuff-boxes, etc., of the latest models (so far as I am a judge) and ornamented with French devices and mottoes.

—Bishop Heber: *Letter dated March, 1825.*

82. THE FALL OF BHARTPUR

(1826 A. D.)

Acting under orders to this effect, both men and officers exerted all their energies, and the siege went on with surprising vigour. Fresh batteries were opened, fresh mines dug and charged, and on the 17th of January the latter were found to be in such a state as could not fail of opening out, when exploded, a safe and easy passage into the heart of the town. Dispositions were in consequence made to storm, and at two o'clock in the morning of the 18th, two columns, headed respectively by the 14th and 59th King's regiments, moved into the trenches opposite to the point about to be breached. They had been warned to rush on as soon as the firing of the great mine should give a signal that all was ready. But hour after hour passed by without bringing with them the wished-for explosion; and when day dawned, the prospect of an advance appeared to be as remote as ever. From that moment till about 9 a. m., the very drums of the men's ears tingled with the noise of a cannonade as heavy and as ceaseless as ever was heard. From the British lines, upwards of one hundred pieces of ordnance vomitted forth fire; while, on the side of the enemy, everything that could be brought to bear, from the huge 84 pounder down to the matchlock, replied to the salute.

Such was the situation of the troops when Lord Combermere, of whose personal exertions every eye-witness has spoken with enthusiasm, arrived in the trench. He advanced to the spot where the 14th regiment stood, and observing that the mouth of the mine was but a few yards removed from the grenadier company, he anxiously demanded of the engineer whether all were safe. He was answered that the men ran no risk, and departed. But it seemed as if there rested in his mind a conviction to the contrary, for he returned in about a quarter of an hour, and having again repeated his question, was a second time assured that not a hair of the soldiers' heads could be injured. Of what followed, we give an account in the words of an eye-witness.

"The general had departed but a few minutes, and we were all in that state of breathless excitement which our situation was calculated to produce, when a spectacle was presented to us, to which I have never beheld, and shall probably never behold, anything akin. I had fixed my eyes intently on the angle of the bastion, beneath which I was aware that the mine had been formed, when, suddenly, the ponderous wall heaved as if shaken by the power of an earthquake. There was no noise, no explosion, and, as it happened, the very firing had for an instant ceased, but the wall rocked like a ship lifted upon a wave, and then sank down again. This occurred twice; and then, with a sound, to which the loudest thunder were soft music, stones, earth, logs of wood, guns and men, flew into the air. Of more I cannot speak, except that shrieks and groans burst upon the ear, as soon as that tremendous crash was over, giving evidence, but too decisive, that the engineer's assurances as to the safety of our position were groundless; but as to seeing the objects from whence they came, that was out of the question. A dense cloud of smoke and dust was over us; to breathe, far less to command the sense of sight amid which was no easy matter."

Through that awful cloud the soldiers pushed forward, trampling, as they went, on the mangled remains of nearly one hundred and fifty of their comrades. Both breaches (for two of them were effected by similar processes) proved to be excellent, and the resistance, though singular for its displays of personal gallantry, was neither obstinate nor well sustained. The Bhurtpureans stood, it is true, here and there, till their pikes came into contact with the bayonets of the assailants, and their artillery-men, in particular, are described as fighting to the last, and dying beside their guns. But such individual exertion could offer no effectual bar to the orderly and cool charge of the British columns, which, taking different directions, swept the ramparts till they met, victorious, and comparatively speaking, little injured, on the opposite side of the town. A loud and joyous cheer proclaimed that the place was their own. The disgrace of a former repulse, the only repulse of consequence with which the British arms in India have ever been tarnished, was washed away.

—Gleig: *History of the British Empire in India.*

83. THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(1835 A. D.)

The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

1st—His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.

2nd—But it is not the intention of his Lordship in Council to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and his Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But his Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which in the natural course of things would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

3rd—It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General-in-Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental books; his Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

4th—His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language; and his Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.

—*Government Resolution dated 7th March, 1835.*

84. THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

(1835)

If the argument be that the spread of knowledge may eventually be fatal to our rule in India, I maintain that, whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could only be preserved as a part of the British Empire, by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our domination would be a curse to the country, and ought to cease.

But I see more ground for just apprehension in ignorance itself. I look to the increase of knowledge with a hope that it may strengthen our Empire; that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and institute a rational conviction of the benefits of our government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy, and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened and ultimately annihilated. Whatever, however, be the will of Almighty Providence respecting the future government of India it is clearly our duty, as long as the charge be confided to our hands, to execute the trust to the best of our ability for the good of the people. The promotion of knowledge, of which the liberty of the Press is one of the most efficient instruments, is manifestly an essential part of that duty. It cannot be that we are permitted by Divine authority to be here merely to collect the revenues of the country, pay the establishments necessary to keep possession, and get into debt to supply the deficiency. We are, doubtless, here for higher purposes, one of which is to pour the enlightened knowledge and civilisation, the arts and sciences of Europe over the land, and thereby improve the condition of the people. Nothing, surely is more likely to conduce to these ends than the liberty of the Press.

* * * *

In addition to the motives which must have existed, on general principles, for giving the fullest freedom, there were

circumstances in the state of the Press in India which rendered the measure now proposed almost unavoidable. The Press has been practically free for many years, including the whole period of the administration of the late Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck; and although laws of restriction existed in Bengal which gave awful power to the Government, they had ceased to operate for any practical purpose. They were extremely odious. They gave to the Government arbitrary power, which British subjects in any part of the world detest. No Government could now have carried them into effect without setting universal opinion at defiance. After the liberty given by Lord William Bentinck's forbearance, no Government could have ventured to enforce these laws unless it had been gifted with a most hardy insensibility to ridicule and obloquy. Even supposing these to be good, they were utterly useless; and as they brought necessary odium on the Government, it would have been absurd longer to retain them.

In speaking of those laws, I cannot refrain from advertising to the individual who, having been at the head of the Government when they were passed, bears all the blame of being their author. He was one of the best and purest and most benevolent men that ever lived. In proposing those laws he must have been actuated, as he always was, by the most upright and conscientious motives. Had he been now alive, and at the head of this Government, he would probably have been among the foremost to propose the abolition of those laws which he formerly thought necessary, but would now have seen to be useless and odious. To what a degree popular opinion prevails against them cannot be more strikingly shown than by the detraction which they have brought on the memory of one who was eminently deserving of all praise, distinguished by great talents and the most important public services, the soul of honour and virtue, admired, beloved, revered by all who knew him, but condemned by the

public, who knew him not, solely on account of these laws which they abhor.

In the Bengal and Agra Presidencies the question was, whether these laws should be retained or abolished; laws, be it observed, too unpopular to be executed, and whose practice had in every respect become obsolete. In the provinces subordinate to Bombay there was the same question; but that was not the question in other parts of India. The question then was, shall such laws be introduced where they have not been known? Shall odious restrictions be imposed where there is already perfect freedom? Shall despotic power be substituted in the place of law, or shall liberty be restrained even by law? At Madras there was no local law, and there was no means of making any person responsible for what was published. At the Presidency of Bombay there was a law already existing, as free as that now proposed for all India. At Madras and Bombay to have made any law short of perfect freedom would have been to impose restrictions which did not before exist. Such a course would surely have been wrong, and was certainly unnecessary. A law was urgently required at Madras, where liberty existed without responsibility. We could not legislate partially on such a subject; and the truth of our deliberations was, that what is now proposed was the safest and the best law that could be devised. It gives perfect liberty, and all its subordinate provisions aim only at proper responsibility. Things could not remain as they were, and any law of restriction would have been sad retrogression in legislation, and totally opposed to the spirit of the age.

—*J. W. Kaye: Life of Lord Metcalfe.*

85. BEGUM SUMROO

Among all who had opportunities of knowing her, she bore the character of a kind-hearted, benevolent, and good

woman; and I have conversed with men capable of judging, who had known her for more than fifty years. She had uncommon sagacity and a masculine resolution; and the Europeans and natives who were most intimate with her have told me that though a woman and of small stature, her power of commanding personal respect was greater than that of almost any person they had ever seen. From the time she put herself under the protection of the British Government, in 1803, she by degrees adopted the European modes of social intercourse, appearing in public on an elephant, in a carriage, and occasionally on horseback with her hat and veil, and dining at table with gentlemen. She often entertained the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, with all their retinues, and sat with them and their staff at table, and for some years past kept an open house for the society of Meerut: but in no situation did she lose sight of her dignity. She retained to the last the grateful affections of the thousands who were supported by her bounty, while she never ceased to inspire the most profound respect in the minds of those who every day approached her, and were on the most unreserved terms of intimacy.

Lord William Bentinck was an excellent judge of character; and the following letter will show how deeply his visit to that part of the country had impressed him with a sense of her extensive usefulness:

'To Her Highness the Begum Sumroo.

'My esteemed Friend,—I cannot leave India without expressing the sincere esteem I entertain for your highness's character. The benevolence of disposition and extensive charity which have endeared you to thousands, have excited in my mind sentiments of the warmest admiration; and I trust that you may yet be preserved for many years, the solace of the orphan and the widow, and the sure resource of your numerous dependants. Tomorrow morning I embark for England; and my prayers

and best wishes attend you, and all others, who, like you, exert themselves for the benefit of the people of India.

I remain,

With much consideration,

Your sincere friend,

(Signed) M. W. BENTINCK.

Calcutta, March 17th, 1835.

—*W. H. Sleeman: Rambles and Recollections of an English Official in India.*

86. VICTORY AND RETIREMENT

(1842 A. D.)

The Governor-General announces to the army and to the people of India, the occupation of Ghazni by Major-General Nott, on the 6th of September, and its entire destruction by the Kandahar division of the army.

Major General Nott had the satisfaction of releasing in the neighbourhood of Ghazni three hundred and twenty-seven Sepoys of the 17th Native Infantry, from the slavery to which they had been reduced by the Afghans.

The Governor-General likewise announces the complete defeat of Mahomed Akbar Khan at the head of 16,000 men on the 13th of September, by Major-General Pollock, and the occupation of Kabul by the troops under that General on the 16th of September.

The British flag now waves in triumph from the highest point of the Bala Hissar.

Thus have all past disasters been retrieved and avenged on every scene on which they were sustained; and repeated victories in the field, and the capture of the cities and citadels of Ghazni and Kabul have advanced the glory, and established the accustomed superiority of the British arms.

The Governor-General has derived much satisfaction from the report made by Major-General Pollock of the admirable

conduct of the troops of His Highness the Maharaja Sher Sing acting in co-operation with the British army.

The Governor-General rejoices in this new proof of the cordial good understanding which prevails between the British Government and that of Lahore.

The report of Major-General Pollock leads the Governor-General to expect that, long before this day, all the British prisoners taken by the Afghans will have been brought into that General's camp. Those who had been left near Kabul were already at liberty.

The Governor-General, in the name of the Government and of all the people of India, offers to Major-General Pollock, and Major-General Nott, and all the officers and troops under their respective commands, his grateful and heartfelt acknowledgements of the important services they have performed.

The Governor-General directs that the recent successes obtained by the armies in Afghanistan be fully made known to all the troops at all stations of the army, and that at all those stations a salute of 21 guns be fired for the capture of Ghazni and a similar salute for the capture of Kabul.

—*Parliamentary Papers—Afghanistan.*

87. THE CONQUEST OF SIND

(1843 A. D.)

I found the Amirs and our Government in the position in which a treaty made by Lord Auckland placed them. I had no concern with its justice, its propriety, or anything but to see it maintained. I found that all the politicals had gone on, from the beginning, trifling, sometimes letting the Amirs infringe the treaty without notice; at others pulling them up, and then dropping the matter; in short I saw it was a long chain of infringement,—denial,—apology,—pardon, over and over. I therefore resolved not to let this which old Indians call "knowing the people," go on; and I wrote to

the Amirs, saying, I would not allow it to continue; they of course continued their game, and as I had threatened, I reported the infringements to Lord Ellenborough, who agreed with me that their irritating, childish and mischievous sort of secret warfare and intrigue should not continue; and as letters from the Amirs were intercepted, proposing to other powers to league and drive us out of Sind, Lord Ellenborough thought, and I think justly, that a new treaty should be entered into, which he sent me. I laid before him the proposal, and I think my treaty was a more fair treaty at least, a more liberal treaty than his; but I do not, as far as I have been able to consider it, think his unjust. Mind, I always reason upon affairs, as both Lord Ellenborough and myself found them. I cannot enter upon our right to be here at all, that is Lord Auckland's affair. Well! I presented the draft of the new treaty. The Amirs bowed with their usual apparent compliance, but raised troops in all directions. These I was ordered by the Government to disperse.

—*Sir W. Napier: Conquest of Scinde.*

88. RANJIT SINGH

(1779—1839 A. D.)

Runjeet Sing was a man whose talents and prudence had acquired for him a great reputation, whose memory is honoured, and whose name will long occupy a glorious place in the history of India. Although descended from a noble family, being the son of a sirdar, he could neither read nor write. He had lost one eye in his childhood, in consequence of the small-pox. His external appearance was not handsome, being remarkably short, delicate, and with indifferent features, which were, however, counterbalanced by his talents. He had an extraordinary memory. The prominent trait of his character was, that he rarely did what was required of him, and acted often contrary to what he said. In general,

no one was informed of the place to which he intended to go, nor of the time appointed by the astrologers for his departure. The dark side of his character was his extreme devotedness to sensuality, spirits, and opium, by which he shortened his life. I was an ocular witness of the spectacle, when he was married at Umritsir, to the Goolbe-goom (rose-lady). She had been for the last few years a *kenchinee* (dancing girl) in the service of Runjeet Sing, and she knew so well how to ingratiate herself with her patron, that he did not hesitate publicly to celebrate his nuptials, and declare his marriage a legal one; for he cared not for public opinion, deeming that a sovereign ought to have the highest authority and an independent will.

—J. M. Honigberger: *Thirty-Five Years in the East.*

89. THE ANNEXATION OF NAGPUR

(1848 A.D.)

The kingdom of Nagpore became British territory by simple lapse, in the absence of all legal heirs. The kingdom which had been granted to the reigning Raja by the British Government when it had become forfeited by the treachery of Appa Sahib, was left without a claimant, when the Raja died. No son had been born to his Highness; none had been adopted by him; none as they have themselves admitted, was adopted, at the Raja's death by the ranees, his widows. There remained no one male of the line who descended from the stock and bore the name of Bhonsla. The British Government, therefore refused to bestow the territory in free gift upon a stranger and wisely incorporated it with its own dominions.

—J. G. A. Baird: *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie.*

90. THE SECOND SIKH WAR (1848—1849 A. D.)

When I sailed from England in the winter of 1847 to assume the Government of India, there prevailed universal conviction among public men at home that permanent peace had at length been secured in the East. Before the summer came, we were already involved in the second Sikh war.

That we were so, was due to no precipitation or fault of ours. The number of the British officers at Mooltan and the open rebellion of the Dewan Moolraj were not made pretext for quarrel with the Government of Lahore. On the contrary, the offence of the Dewan Moolraj was sedulously distinguished from national wrong. The Sikhs themselves were called upon to furnish Moolraj as a rebel against their own sovereign, and to exact reparation for the British Government whose protection they had previously invoked.

But when it was seen that the spirit of the whole Sikh people was inflamed by the bitterest animosity against us—when chief after chief deserted our cause, until thereby their whole army, led by sirdars who had signed the treaties, and by members of the Council of Regency itself, was openly arrayed against us, when, above all, it was seen that the Sikhs, in their eagerness for our destruction had even combined in unnatural alliance with Dost Mahomed Khan and his Mahomedan tribes—it became manifest that there was no alternative left. The question for it was no longer one of policy or expediency, but one of national safety.

Accordingly the Government put forth its power. After a prolonged campaign, and a struggle severe and anxious, the Sikhs were utterly defeated and subdued, the Afghans were driven with ignominy through the mountains, and the Punjab became a British province.

—J. G. A. Baird: *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie.*

91. THE BATTLE OF GUJRAT (1849 A. D.)

Hurrah for our side ! This time we have got a victory and a sniffler.

On the morning of the 21st we attacked about 9 a. m. We must have had from 20 to 25,000, and 94 guns, 18 of which were heavy. The enemy were 60,000 strong, of which 2,000 were Afghans, and 59 guns. He was posted in and round Gujrat but without entrenchments. C.-in-C. began with his artillery. He cannonaded for three hours, moving gradually forward. The enemy then began to shake. Sir W. Gilbert carried the village, which was the key of their position. Enemy retired, our people advanced, kicked them from pillar to post, drove them into their own camp, through their own camp, and out of their own camp, broke them into disorder, and pressed on them till they fled in utter rout, dropping their guns, and throwing away their arms as they ran. We pursued for twelve miles, and till night-fall. We have taken 53 guns, many standards, his whole camp, stores, baggage, cattle and ammunition. Their loss is stated from 3,000 upwards. We have lost 96 killed, of which 5 are officers, and 700 wounded, many slightly. Thank God for it ! I rejoice heartily that the old Chief has been able to close his career with this crowning victory, and now he may go in peace.

Everything was well managed. Everything well done. The troops of all arms behaved admirably, and as if on parade ; and the sight is described as at once beautiful and terrific beyond ordinary cannonades and advances.

It has taken Ossa and Olympus off my head, and for once during the last three months I breathe freely. One is apt, of course, to over-estimate what happens in one's own time ; but I really believe the C.-in-C. may feel that no victory ever gained in India was more important in its results, or more

calculated to impress the native enemy with a sense of our invincibility, as arising from military science, and vast military resources, apart from courage and dash.

The Sikhs behaved bravely, and stood their ground obstinately. On one occasion they actually charged our line of guns, were allowed to approach and then were doubled up by grape, and flank-fire from H. M. 29th. Their guns were served, as usual, steadily and rapidly, and their cavalry made repeated attempts to turn both our flanks. They were really *Singhs* (lions) while they stood. But they were fairly cannonaded off the field. The Bombay Infantry Division had not a man hurt.

—J. G. A. Baird: *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie.*

92. THE SECOND BURMESE WAR

(1852 A. D.)

When little more than two years had passed (from the conclusion of the second Sikh war) the Government of India again was suddenly engaged in hostilities with Burma.

Certain British traders in the port of Rangoon had been subjected to gross outrage by the officers of the King of Ava, in direct violation of the treaty of Yandaboo.

Holding to the wisdom of Lord Wellesley's maxim, that an insult offered to the British flag at the mouth of the Ganges should be resented as promptly and as fully as an insult offered at the mouth of the Thames, I should, under any circumstances, have regarded it as sound policy to exact reparation for wrong done to British subjects by any native state. But our relations with the Burmese Court, and the policy it had long pursued towards us, imposed upon the Government of India, at the time to which I refer, the absolute necessity of exacting from it reparation for the

systematic violation of the treaty of which British traders had now made formal complaint.

Of all the Eastern nations with which the Government of India has had to do, the Burmese were the most arrogant and overbearing.

During the ten years since the treaty with them had been concluded, they had treated it with disregard, and had been allowed to disregard it with impunity. They had been permitted to worry away our envoys by petty annoyances from their Court, and their insolence had even been tolerated when at last they vexed our commercial agent at Rangoon into silent departure from the port. Inflated by such indirect concessions as these, the Burmese had assumed again the tone they used before the war of 1824-26. On more than one occasion they had threatened recommencement of hostilities against us, and always at the most untoward time.

However contemptible the Burman race may seem to critics in Europe, they have ever been regarded in the East as formidable in the extreme. Only five-and-twenty years before, the news of their march towards Chittagong had raised a panic in the bazaars of Calcutta itself; and even in the late war rumour of their supposed march spread consternation in the British districts of Assam and Arakan.

If deliberate and gross wrong should be tamely borne from such a people as this, without vindication of our rights or exaction of reparation for the wrong, whether the motive of our inaction were desire of peace or contempt for the Burman power, it was felt that the policy would be full of danger; for the Government of India could never, consistently with its own safety, permit itself to stand for a single day in an attitude of inferiority towards a native power, and least of all towards the Court of Ava.

Every effort was made to obtain reparation by friendly means. The reparation required was no more than compensation for the actual loss incurred. But every effort was

vain. Our demands were evaded; our officers were insulted. The warnings which we gave were treated with disregard, and the period of grace which we allowed was employed by the Burmese in strengthening their fortifications and in making every preparation for resistance.

Thereupon the Government of India despatched a powerful expedition to Pegu, and within a few weeks the whole of the coast of Burma, with all its defences, was in our possession.

Even then the Government of India abstained from further operations for several months, in the hope that, profiting by experience, the King of Ava would yet accede to our just demands.

But our forbearance was fruitless. Accordingly, in the end of 1852 the British troops took possession of the kingdom of Pegu, and the territory was retained, in order that the Government of India might hold from the Burman state both adequate compensation for past injury and the best security against future danger.

—J. G. A. Baird: *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie.*

93. THE RECAPTURE OF DELHI

(1857 A. D.)

(Letter from Lieutenant Macdowell, 2nd in command.
Hodson's Horse, Delhi).

On the night of the 13th September, final preparations were made for the assault on the city, brigadiers and commanding officers (our little army boasts of no generals of divisions) were summoned to the general's tent, and then received their instructions. At 10 o'clock A. M. on the 14th, the men all turned out silently, no bugles or trumpets sounding, and moved down in silence to the trenches. The batteries all this time kept up an unceasing fire on the city, which responded to it as usual. On arriving at the trenches,

the troops lay down, awaiting the signal, which was to be given at daybreak, and which was to be the blowing in of the Cashmere Gate, towards which a party of engineers and sappers moved off at about 3 A. M. The assault was to be made in three columns; the first was to blow open the Cashmere Gate, the second to escalate the water Bastion, and the third to escalate the Moree Bastion, both of which had been pronounced practicable. As I was with the cavalry all the time, I saw nothing of the storming, but it is sufficient to say it succeeded on every point, and by 8 A. M. we were inside the walls, and held all their outworks.

Now began the difficulty, as from the small force we had, it was very hard work to drive a large body of men out of such a city as Delhi. It took four days to accomplish, but at length, on the morning of the 20th, the flag of old England floated gracefully out over the palace of the Great Mogul.....

—*The Rev. G. H. Hodson: Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India.*

94. THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION

(1858 A. D.)

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

WHEREAS, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company.

Now, therefore, we do, by these presents, notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government, and we hereby

call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from us through one of our principal Secretaries of State.

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the native princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

We know, and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already in one province, with a desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows:—

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in a too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government, we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility

and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

95. THE LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION OF 1882 A. D.

(Extracts)

"It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education. His Excellency in Council has himself no doubt that, in the course of time, as local knowledge and local interest are brought to bear more freely upon local administration, improved efficiency will, in fact, follow."

"There is reason to fear that previous attempts at Local Self-Government have been too often over-riden and practically crushed by direct, though well-meant, official interference. In the few cases where real responsibility has been thrown upon local bodies, and real power entrusted to them, the results have been very gratifying."

"The Governor-General in Council desires that the smallest administrative unit—the Sub-Division, the Taluk, or the Tahsil—shall ordinarily form the maximum area to be placed under a Local Board."

"The Municipal Committees, will of course, remain the Local Boards for areas included within town limits."

"The Local Boards, both urban and rural, must everywhere have a large preponderance of non-official members."

"Members of Boards should be chosen by election whenever it may, in the opinion of the Local Governments, be practical to adopt that system of choice."

"The Government should revise and check the acts of the Local Bodies, but not dictate them."

"It does not appear necessary for the exercise of these powers that the chief executive officers of towns, subdivisions, or districts, should be chairmen or even members of the local boards. There is, indeed, much reason to believe that it would be more convenient that they should supervise and control the acts of those bodies without taking actual part in their proceedings."

"The Governor-General in Council therefore would wish to see non-official persons acting, whenever practicable, as chairmen of the local board."

96. THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT OF 1892

(Extracts)

1. [Provisions for increase of number of members of Indian Councils for making laws and regulations. Rep. 9 Edw. 7, c. 4, s. 8 (3).]
2. [Modification of provisions of 24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, as to business at legislative meetings. Rep. 9 Edw. 7, c. 4, s. 8 (3).]
3. It is hereby declared that in the twenty-second section of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, it was and is intended that the words "Indian territories now under the dominion of Her Majesty" should be read and construed as if the words "or hereafter" were and had at the time of the passing of the said Act been inserted next after the word "now"; and further, that the Acts third and fourth William the Fourth, chapter eighty-five, and sixteenth and seventeenth Victoria, chapter ninety-five, respectively shall be read and construed as if at the date of the enactment thereof respectively it was intended and had been enacted that the said Acts respectively should extend to and include the territories acquired after the dates thereof respectively by the East India Company, and should not be confined to the territories

at the dates of the said enactments respectively in the session and under the government of the said Company.

4.

(1) If any additional member of council, or any member of the council of a lieutenant-governor shall be absent from India or unable to attend to the duties of his office for a period of two consecutive months, it shall be lawful for the Governor-General, the Governor, or the lieutenant-governor to whose council such additional member may have been nominated (as the case may be) to declare, by a notification published in the Government Gazette, that the seat in council of such person has become vacant:

5. The local legislature of any province in India may, from time to time, by Acts passed under and subject to the provisions of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, and with the previous sanction of the Governor-General, but not otherwise, repeal or amend as to that province any law or regulation made either before or after the passing of this Act by any authority in India other than that local legislature: provided that an act or a provision of an act made by a local legislature, and subsequently assented to by the Governor-General in pursuance of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, shall not be deemed invalid by reason only of its requiring the previous sanction of the Governor-General under this section.

6. In this Act:—

The expression "local legislature" means—

(1) The Governor in Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations of the respective provinces of Fort St. George and Bombay, and

(2) The council for the purpose of making laws and regulations of the lieutenant-governor of any province to which the provisions of the Indian Council Act, 1861, touching the making of laws or regulations have been or are hereafter extended or made applicable.

The expression "province" means any presidency, divi-

sion, province, or territory over which the powers of any local legislature for the time being extended.

7. Nothing in this Act shall detract from or diminish the powers of the Governor-General in Council at meetings for the purpose of making laws and regulations.

97. LORD MORLEY ON THE INDIAN FRONTIER POLICY

(1908)

"I need not tell you (Lord Minto II) with what care I have studied—yes, really studied—what you write about the frontier tribes. I cannot wonder at your being rather captivated by the people who come to us, beseeching you to take them over. Sir Dennis Fitz-Patrick, once Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and whom I was heartily sorry to lose from my Council, used to say, "Yes—'tis all very well—they ask you to take them over, perhaps by way of deliverance from some enemies of their own—and then, when you have done their business, they are ready to turn round and rend you." You say we made a great mistake when we refused to take over the Orakzais some years ago; we should have been better able to deal with recent raids, and some of them would probably never have occurred. I have been reading over the papers about the transaction here referred to, and of course I do not wonder that—thinks the decision at that time was a mistake, because it overruled his proposal. Remember, the decision was the act of the Cabinet of the day, and Curzon—then in England—wrote an excellent minute in support of it. The Government stuck to the principles of frontier policy laid down in George Hamilton's dispatch of 1898 after the Tirah campaign. I believe the principles there set out are the principles of H. M.'s Government to-day. It is surely no better than a guess to argue that if we had taken over these gentry, we should have had no raids. However that may be, there is no denying that we have raids to deal with now, and

we cannot stand chronic disorder when it takes that shape. Of course I admit that; only I do not believe the time has come for absorption, incorporation, or by whatever other name your D.'s and C.'s choose to call a process that would inevitably mean fresh responsibility and increased expenditure. And I do know that there are men of wide frontier experience and men on the frontier now, who are not afraid of saying that if there were a trifle more of the spirit of conciliatory management of the jirgas of these wild gentry, we should make a far better job of it."

—*Morley: Recollections.*

98. LORD MORLEY AND THE DEPORTATIONS

(1910)

January 27.—This brings me to deportees. The question between us two upon this matter may, if we don't take care, become what the Americans would call ugly. I won't repeat the general arguments about deportation. I have fought against those here who regarded such a resort to the regulation of 1818 as indefensible. So, per contra, I am ready just as stoutly to fight those who wish to make this arbitrary detention for indefinite periods a regular weapon of government. Now your present position is beginning to approach this. You have nine men locked up a year ago by *lettre de cachet*, because you believed them to be criminally connected with criminal plots, and because you expected their arrest to check these plots. For a certain time it looked as if the coup were effective, and were justified by the result. In all this, I think, we were perfectly right. Then you come by and by upon what you regard as a great anarchist conspiracy for sedition and murder, and you warn me that you may soon apply to me for sanction of further arbitrary arrest and detention on a large scale. I ask whether this process implies that through the nine *detenus* you have found out a murder-plot contrived, not by them, but by other people. You say,

"We admit that being locked up they can have had no share in these new abominations; but their continued detention will frighten evildoers generally." That's the Russian argument: by packing off train-loads of suspects to Siberia we'll terrify the anarchists out of their wits, and all will come out right. That policy did not work out brilliantly in Russia, and did not save the lives of the Trepoffs, nor did it save Russia from a Duma, the very thing that the Trepoffs and the rest of the "offs" deprecated and detested.

—*Morley: Recollections.*

99. LORD HARDINGE ON INDIA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

(1915)

"We have no knowledge of the date when the next Imperial Conference will be held, nor what form it will take. But much has already happened, since the last Conference was held in 1911, which will leave a lasting mark upon the British Empire, and it is to me inconceivable that statesmen of such distinguished ability and far-seeing patriotism as the Premiers and Ministers of the self-governing Dominions will not have realised, from recent events, the great and important position that India occupies amongst the various Dominions and Dependencies composing the British Empire. It is true that India is not a self-governing Dominion, but that seems hardly a reason why she should not be suitably represented at future Conferences. India's size, population, wealth, military resources, and, lastly, her patriotism demand it. No Conference can afford to debate great imperial issues in which India is vitally concerned, and at the same time to disregard her. To discuss questions affecting the defence of the Empire, without taking India into account, would be to ignore the value and interests of the greatest military asset of the Empire outside the United Kingdom. So also in trade, to discuss questions affecting commerce

within the Empire, without regard to India, would be to disregard England's best customer. To concede the direct representation of India at future Imperial Conferences does not strike me as a very revolutionary or far-reaching concession to make to Indian public opinion and to India's just claims, and I feel confident that if, and when, this question is placed in its true light before the Governments of the self-governing Dominions, they will regard it from that wider angle of vision from which we hope other Indian questions may be viewed in the near future, so that the people of India may be made to feel what they really are, in the words of Mr. Asquith, 'conscious members of a living partnership all over the world under the same flag.' "

—Lord Hardinge: *Speeches*.

100. E. S. MONTAGUE'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE 20TH AUGUST, 1917

"The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible.....

The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

—E. S. Montague: *Indian Speeches*.

101. THE KING-EMPEROR'S PROCLAMATION

(1919 A.D.)

GEORGE V, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, to my Viceroy and Governor-General, to the Princes of Indian States and to all my subjects in India of whatsoever race or creed, Greeting :

Another epoch has been reached to-day in the annals of India. I have given my Royal assent to an Act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this realm for the better government of India and for the greater contentment of her people. The Acts of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the Honourable East India Company. The Act of 1833 opened the door for Indians to public office and employment. The Act of 1858 transferred the administration from the Company to the Crown and laid the foundation of public life which exists in India to-day. The Act of 1861 sowed the seed of representative institutions, and the seed was quickened into life by the Act of 1909. The Act which has now become law entrusts the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the government and points the way to full responsible government hereafter. If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this Act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress; and it is timely and fitting that I should invite you to-day to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future.

Simultaneously with the new constitutions in British India, I have gladly assented to the establishment of a Chamber

of Princes. I trust that its counsel may be fruitful of lasting good to the Princes, and the States themselves may advance the interests which are common to their territories and to British India and may be to the advantage of the Empire as a whole. I take the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired their privileges, rights, and dignities.

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With all my people I pray to Almighty God that, by His wisdom and under His guidance, India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment, and may grow to the fullness of political freedom.

(Extracts)

APPENDIX A

EXERCISES IN INDIVIDUAL WORK

Introduction. Individual work is the key-note of present day educational methods; it promotes self-reliance and stimulates thought.

A scheme of individual work for the study of Indian history will include "Assignments" and "Studies in Source-books"; to begin with, problems on short extracts from original sources may be set.

A few specimen exercises are here given.

1. "Whereas Hindustan has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal *Ulamas*, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, first, of the verse of the *Quran* (Sur. IV 62), 'Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you,' and secondly, of the genuine tradition, 'Surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment is the *Imam-i-'Adil*: whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys Me; and whosoever rebels against him rebels against Me,' and thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony; and we have agreed that the rank of *Sultan-i-'Adil* (a just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid* (an infallible authority). Further we declare that the king of the Islam, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, Abul Fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar

Padshah Ghazi—whose kingdom God perpetuate—is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should, therefore, in future a religious question come up regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

“Further we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Quran, but also of real benefit to the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of property and religious privileges in this.

“This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God and the propagation of Islam, and is signed by us, the principal ‘Ulamas and lawyers, in the month of Rajab of the year 987” (September 1579).

Questions.

- (1) What were the forces that brought about the promulgation of the decree?
- (2) How did it affect the position of the ‘Ulamas?
- (3) With what authority did it vest the king?
- (4) Name the act of Parliament which gave the King of England powers similar to those vested in Akbar by this decree.

2. “Although we do not mean to insist absolutely upon all these concessions, yet we are determined on no account to relinquish the possession of Salsette and Bassein; therefore should the Peishwa hold out against yielding them to the Company, you are at no rate to agree to restore them declaring it is impossible to relinquish these places without their express permission and you are to advise us immediately of what has passed.

Although we have thought it necessary to disapprove of the measures of the President and Council of Bombay in entering into the treaty with Raghoba and have ordered them to withdraw their assistance from him, yet we think it consistent with the honour of the nation and this Government to endeavour to stipulate some conditions for him with his adversaries. What these should be, must depend on the circumstances in which you may find him on your arrival. We must therefore leave this chiefly to your discretion and only direct in general that, in whatever treaty you may negotiate with the Mahrattas, you will endeavour to include Raghoba and make such terms for him as in his actual situation it may appear to you reasonable to expect and which may not frustrate the immediate object of their negotiations."

Questions.

- (1) By whom was the letter addressed?
- (2) With whom was the addressee to negotiate?
- (3) Did he carry out the instructions given to him?
- (4) What was the occasion for the interference of the authors of the letter with the action of the Government of Bombay?
- (5) Had they the statutory powers to do so?
- (6) Were they, by this action of theirs, able to prevent the outbreak of hostilities?
- (7) How were the interests of Raghoba protected when the treaty was concluded?

3. "From my first accession to the government, I have perceived that many English gentlemen were ill affected to me, and that the country was not in my own hands. The cause of the disaffection of these gentlemen I know not; you may. The cause of the country's not being in my hands is this: that from the factory of Calcutta to Kasimbazar, Patna and Dacca, all the English chiefs, with their gomastas, officers and agents, in every district of the government, act as collectors, renters, zemindars and talukdars, and setting up the Company's colours, allow no power to my officers..... Mr. Ellis commits open acts of hostility against me, raises calumnies against me, corresponds with my enemies, and, instead of a single letter, sends two

hundred sepoys..... I will on no account permit the fort to be searched."

Questions.

- (1) Who wrote the letter and to whom was it addressed?
- (2) What did the writer complain against?
- (3) How did Mr. Ellis widen the breach between the parties?
- (4) How did the matter end?

4. "The Governor-General in Council sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh government re-established in the Punjab, able to control its army, and to protect its subjects; he had not, up to the present moment, abandoned the hope of seeing that important object effected by the patriotic efforts of the chiefs and people of the country.

The Sikh recently marched from Lahore towards the British frontier, as it was alleged, by the order of the Durbar, for the purpose of invading the British territory.

The Governor-General's agent, by direction of the Governor-General, demanded an explanation of this movement, and no reply being returned within a reasonable time, the demand was repeated. The Governor-General, unwilling to believe in the hostile intentions of the Sikh Government, to which no provocation had been given, refrained from taking any measures which might have a tendency to embarrass the Government of the Maharaja, or to induce collision between the two states.....

The Sikh army has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories.

The Governor-General must therefore take measures for effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace."

Questions.

- (1) Name the Governor-General who issued this proclamation.
- (2) What acts of hostility had been committed by the Sikh Government?
- (3) What measures were taken "for effectively protecting the

British province, for vindicating the authority of the British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace?"

(4) Who were the principal "violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace?"

(5) Date the proclamation.

5. "I take occasion of recording my strong and deliberate opinion that, in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or to neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves, whether they arise from the lapse of subordinate states, by the failure of all heirs of every description whatsoever, or from the failure of heirs natural, where the succession can be sustained only by the sanction of the Government being given to the ceremony of adoption according to Hindu Law."

Questions.

(1) Who enunciated the principle laid down in this extract?

(2) How is it named?

(3) How did its application affect the interests of the East India Company?

6. "If the decision of His Lordship in Council should be such as I anticipate, I shall enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity. If, on the other hand, it be the opinion of the Government that the present system ought to remain unchanged, I beg that I may be permitted to retire from the chair of the Committee. I feel that I could not be of the smallest use there. I feel also that I should be lending my countenance to what I firmly believe to be a mere delusion. I believe that the present system tends not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a Board for wasting the public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank—for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd

metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology—for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an incumbrance and a blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that, when they have received it, they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives. Entertaining these opinions, I am naturally desirous to decline all share in the responsibility of a body which, unless it alters its whole mode of proceedings, I must consider, not merely as useless, but as positively noxious."

Questions.

- (1) Who was the author of this minute?
- (2) Who shared his views and who differed from him?
- (3) Was his statement of the case an unbiassed one?
- (4) How did the adoption of the policy outlined in this minute affect the educational advancement of the Indian people?
- (5) Would you have suggested a different policy of educational reform for adoption by Government?

7. My friend, your Highness alludes to the friendship which existed between your Highness's renowned father and the British Government, and your Highness says that from this Government your Highness expects similar treatment. It is the earnest wish of the British Government that that friendship should be perpetuated. But while I am desirous that the alliance between the two Governments should be firm and lasting, it is incumbent on me to tell your Highness that it would be inconsistent with the fame and reputation of the British Government to break off its alliance with Amir Sher Ali Khan, who has given to it no offence, so long as he retains his authority and power over a large portion of Afghanistan. The Amir still rules in Kandahar and in Herat.

My friend, the relations of this Government are with the actual rulers of Afghanistan. If your Highness is able to consolidate your Highness's power in Kabul, and is sincerely desirous of having a friend and ally of the British Government, I shall be ready to accept your Highness as such;

but I cannot break the existing engagements with Amir Sher Ali Khan, and I must continue to treat him as the ruler of that portion of Afghanistan over which he retains control. Sincerity and fair dealing induce me to write this plainly and openly to your Highness."

Questions.

- (1) By whom and to whom was this letter written?
 - (2) What part did the policy enunciated in the letter play in the relations of the British Government with Afghanistan?
 - (3) Date the letter.
8. Read the extracts—Nos. 10, 11, 12 and 13—and answer the following questions:—
1. Mention a few incidents in the life of Chandragupta.
 2. What does Megasthenes say about the people of India?
 3. Write an account of the administrative system of Chandragupta.
 4. What duties were apportioned to the king during the several hours of the day?
 5. How was the king expected to conduct himself in the discharge of his duties.
9. Read the extracts—Nos. 6, 20 and 29—and write an essay on the maritime activity of the Indians from the 6th century B. C. to the 8th century A. D.
10. Read the following works:—
1. Futuḥa't-i Firoz Shahi (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pages 374-388).
 2. Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pages 271-373)
- and then, write a short monograph on the life and work of Firoz Shah.

APPENDIX B

WHO'S WHO*

Afif. Shams-i-Siraj Afif lived at the Court of Firoz Shah.

In his work on Firoz Shah, he devotes a few chapters to the condition of the people. Muhammadan historians generally do not treat of this aspect of the subject.

Allami. Abul Fazl Allami was born in 1551 A. D. He was educated under the personal supervision of his father, and before he was twenty years old, he gained the reputation of an erudite and able scholar.

He was introduced to the Court of Akbar in his seventeenth year and before long, he became the most trusted servant of the Emperor.

From one post to another he was promoted till he became the Prime Minister and a mansabdar of 4000.

He wrote the Akbar-Nama and the Aini Akbari.

In 1602, he was murdered at the instigation of Prince Selim.

Alberuni. Abu-Alraiham Muhammad Ibn 'Ahmad Alberuni was born in 973 A. D. in modern Khiva and was well-versed in astronomy, mathematics, mathematical geography, physics, chemistry and mineralogy.

He began his career as a politician but when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Alberuni's native country, his political career came to an end, and on the conclusion of the war, he was taken as hostage to Afghanistan. Sultan Mahmud did not recognise his merits as a scholar but under his son, Alberuni enjoyed a pension.

Alberuni was strongly drawn towards Indian philosophy and wrote on it with considerable sympathy.

His chief works are "Canon Masudicus" and "Indika".

Arrian. Arrian was a Greek historian and philosopher who flourished in the second century A. D. He enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor Hadrian, under whom he served as the Governor of Cappadocia.

He is the author of "Anabasis of Alexander", "Affairs of India" and "Dissertations of Epictetus".

Barni. Ziaud din Barni wrote his "Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi", in the reign of Firoz Shah. Barni is Ferishta's chief authority for this period of his history.

Fa-hien. Fa-hien was one of the earliest of Chinese pilgrims to visit India. He was in the country for about 10 years. Of this period he spent six years in the "Kingdom of the Middle" (Bihar, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Malwa and part of Rajputana) which was under Chandragupta II.

Ferishta. Mohamad Kasim Ferishta collected the materials for his "History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India till the year 1612 A. D." from various sources and wrote a readable account of the same. He is considered to be a reliable authority on the subject.

*A Biographical Dictionary of the Original Authorities quoted in the book.

Gleig. The Rev. George Robert Gleig was the son of Bishop George Gleig.

He is the author of "The Life of Sir Thomas Munroe", "Lord Clive", "Lord Hastings", "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan" and "The History of India."

He died in 1888 in his ninety-second year.

Heber. The right Rev. Reginald Heber was ordained priest in 1807 and appointed Bishop of Calcutta in 1822.

He travelled extensively in India and Ceylon, and recorded his observations in his "Journey through India, from Calcutta to Bombay, with notes upon Ceylon, and a Journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces".

He died in 1826 at Trichinopoly.

Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chwang) was a Chinese pilgrim who, to familiarise himself with the Buddhist scriptures obtainable in India, visited the country and remained there for 13 years out of which eight years were spent in the kingdom of Harsha.

When he left India, he took with him many Buddhist manuscripts, images and relics. Because of his great learning, he was known as the Master of the Law. He had many disciples. One of them—Shaman Hwui Li—wrote the life of his master.

Honigberger. John Martin Honigberger was court physician to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and lived in Lahore even after his patron's death.

In his "Thirty-five years in the East", he speaks, among other things, of the growth and decay of the Sikh power in the Punjab.

Hussain Khan. Gulam Hussain Khan was in the service of the Nawab of Bengal. His attachment to the English resulted in his dismissal. He was then taken over into the service of the English and received many marks of favour from Colonel Goddard.

His "Siyar-ul-Mutakherin" (Review of Modern times) is a standard work of reference for the history of the later Mogul Emperors.

Ibrahim Khan. Ali Ibrahim Khan wrote his "Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan" during the administration of Lord Cornwallis.

Justin. Justin was a Latin historian who lived in the time of Antoninus Pius, and is the author of a history book the materials of which were collected from Trogus Pompeius's History of the world.

Kazwini. Zakariya Al Kazwini was born in Kazwin in Persia. His book "Asaru-l-Bilad" was a compilation from the writings of Istakhri Ibn Haukal and others.

Kufi. Late in life, Muhammad 'Ali bin Hamid bin Abu Bakr Kufi was reduced to a state of poverty; he then took to literary pursuits. At Alor, he secured the manuscript of "Chach-Nama," and translated it from Arabic into Persian somewhere in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

Manucci. Niccolo Manucci was a Venetian who ran away from his native place at the early age of fourteen.

He soon found a protector in Lord Bellomont, an English nobleman in whose company he travelled through Asia Minor, Persia and India.

In 1656 his benefactor died, and Manucci was left alone to shift for himself. He however found employment under Prince Dara Shukoh and remained in his service till the prince's death in 1759.

After that he served under Raja Jai Singh, Raja Kirat Singh and also under Shah Alam.

He was also in the employ of the Portuguese and the English who engaged him to carry on negotiations with the Indian rulers.

He also practised as a physician for a number of years.

He wrote the "Storia Do Mogor".

Megasthenes. Megasthenes was the Greek ambassador at the Court of Chandragupta Maurya. During his stay in India, he wrote an account of the customs, products and administration of the country.

Of him and his book, "The Indika", V. A. Smith says, "Megasthenes is a thoroughly trustworthy witness concerning matters which came under his own observation."

Morley. Lord Morley has established his reputation as a man of letters and as a statesman.

A Radical by nature but a liberal in practice, Lord Morley carried on many schemes of reform in Ireland and India during his term of office as Irish Secretary and the Secretary of State for India.

In the second volume of his "Recollections" the history of his tenure of office as Secretary of State for India is sketched.

On the declaration of war against Germany in 1914, he resigned his membership of the Cabinet and retired into private life.

Orme. Robert Orme was born in 1728. He became a clerk under the East India Company in 1743 A. D. and rose to be a member of Council at Madras.

It was at his suggestion that Clive was sent to settle the affairs in Bengal.

He wrote "A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745" and "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes and of the English Concerns in Indostan from the year 1659."

Pillai. Ananda Ranga Pillai was a shrewd observer of men and things; from several minor offices, he rose to be the 'Dubash' to Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry.

He was, in spite of the hostility of the Governor's wife, the power behind the throne.

He left a record of the history of his time in "The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai". The book is the Indian "Pepy's Diary": It contains much information about the author and about the political, social, commercial and military history of the time.

Razzak. Kamaluddin Abdur Razzak was born at Herat in 1413 A. D. Sultan Shah Rukh sent him as an ambassador to the Court of Vijjanagar.

During his journey to and from Vijjanagar, he met with many dangers but returned in safety to his native country.

Roe. Sir Thomas Roe was deputed by James I of England to the Court of the Emperor Jehangir. He was at the Mogul Court from 1615 A. D. to 1618 A. D.

Sarwani. Abbas Khan, Sarwani was connected by marriage with Sher Shah, and is a fairly reliable authority on that ruler.

He had a chequered career under Akbar by whose orders he wrote the life of his great relative.

Shamlu. Muhammad Ja 'Far Shamlu was in the service of Ahmad

Shah Abdali for about twenty-five years. He was present at the third battle of Panipat.

Siraj. Minhaju-s-Siraj was a native of Afghanistan and came to India in 1227 A. D. He was a religious preacher and held offices under Altmash, Nasiruddin and Balban. His "Tabakat-i-Nasiri" is a trustworthy account of the events it narrates.

Sleeman. Major-General Sir William Henry Sleeman took an active part in the suppression of the Thugs.

He wrote "Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official" and "A Journey through the kingdom of Oudh".

He died in 1856 A. D.

Tavernier. Jean Baptiste Tavernier was born in Paris in 1605. He was a great traveller and visited Turkey, Persia and the East Indies as a trader in jewels. During his seventh voyage to the East, he died at Moscow in 1689.

His "Travels" was published in 1676 in three volumes.

Utbi. Abu Nasr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Al Jabberu-l 'Utbi was a member of the noble family of Utba and was secretary to Sultan Mahmud.

He however did not accompany the Sultan to India; his work "Tarikh Yamini" is, except for its defective topography and inaccuracy of dates, a reliable account of the doings of Sabuktigin and Mahmud.

APPENDIX C

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOURCE-BOOKS OF INDIAN HISTORY

(a) The Hindu Period

1. Griffith: Hymns from the Rig-Veda, the Sama-Veda and the Atharva-Veda.
2. Max Muller and Oldenberg: Vedic Hymns.
3. Max Muller: The Upanishads.
4. Bühler: The Sacred Laws of the Aryas.
5. Eggeling: The Satapatha Brahmana.
6. B. D. Basu (Editor): The Matsya Purana.
7. B. D. Basu (Editor): The Garuda Purana.
8. M. N. Dutt: The Ramayana.
9. P. C. Roy: The Mahabharatha of Vyasa.
10. Bühler: The Laws of Manu.
11. Jacobi: The Jaina-Sutras.
12. Cowell, Max Muller and Takakusu: Mahayana Texts.
13. Cowell: The Buddha-charita of Aswagoshā.
14. Takakusu: Amityur-Dyana Sutra.
15. Cowell: The Jatakas.
16. Pargiter: The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.
17. Rawlinson: History of Herodotus.
18. Herzfeld: A New Inscription of Darius.
19. McCrindle: Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as described by Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch and Justin.
20. McCrindle: Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.
21. McCrindle: Ancient India as described in classical literature.
22. McCrindle: Ancient India as described by Ptolemy.
23. McCrindle: Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Knidian.
24. Shama Shastri: The Arthashastra of Kautilya.
25. Bhandarkar: Inscriptions of Asoka.
26. Schoff: The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.
27. Rhys Davids: Questions of Milinda.
28. Giles: Travels of Fa-hien.
29. Jayaswal and Banerji-Shastri: Lassen's History of Indian Commerce.
30. Fleet: The Gupta Inscriptions.
31. Beal: The Siyuki of Hiuen Tsiang.
32. Beal: Life of Hiuen Tsiang.
33. Cowell and Thomas: Harsha-Charita of Bana.
34. Bhandarkar: The Collected works.
35. Stein: Rajatarangini of Kalhana.
36. Sachau: Alberuni's India.
37. South Indian Inscriptions.
38. Epigraphia Indica.
39. Epigraphia Carnatica.

(b) The Muhammadan Period.

40. Elliot and Dowson: The History of India as told by its own Historians.
41. Briggs: Ferista's History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India.
42. Marsden and Wright: Travels of Marco Polo.
43. Havers: Travels of Pietro Della Valle.
44. Krishnaswami Iyengar: A Source-Book of Vijianagar History.
45. Sewell: A Forgotten Empire.
46. Stanley: The Three Voyages of Gama and his Viceroyalty.
47. Ravenstein: The Roteiro.
48. Mrs. Beveridge: Babar-Nama.
49. Mrs. Beveridge: Gul-Badam Begam's History of Humayun.
50. Bickman: Abul Fazi's Aini-Akbari.
51. Gladwin: Ayeen Akbary.
52. Hoyland: Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar.
53. Payne: Jarric's Akbar and the Jesuits.
54. Price: Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangir.
55. Roe: An Embassy to the Great Mogul. ..
56. Moreland and Geyl: Jehangir's India.
57. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
58. Irvine: Storia Do Mogor.
59. Ball and Crooke: Tavernier's Travels in India.
60. Constable: Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire.
61. Billimoria: Letters of Aurangzeb.
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64. Fryer: A New Account of East India and Persia.
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67. Sen: Administrative System of the Marathas.
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71. Fraser: Nadir Shah.
72. Franklin: Shah Alam.
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(c) The British Period.

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76. Das Gupta: India in the Seventeenth Century.
77. Rawlinson: British Beginnings in Western India.
78. Foster: The English Factories in India.
79. Shaffat Ahmad Khan: Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay.
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86. Stewart: India Tracts.
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91. Miles: Kirmani's History of Hydur Naik.
92. Teignmouth: Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth.
93. Ascoli: Early Revenue History of Bengal.
94. Kirkpatrick: Select Letters of Tipu Sultan.
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96. Martin: The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley during his administration in India.
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98. Owen: A Selection from the Wellington Despatches.
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108. Snodgrass: Narrative of the Burmese War.
109. Krishnaswami: Heber's Indian Journal.
110. Cubois and Beauchamp: Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies.
111. An Officer: Origin of the Pindaris.
112. Sleeman: Rambles and Recollections of an English Official in India.
113. Havelock: Narrative of the War in Afghanistan.
114. Lady Sale: Disasters in Afghanistan.
115. Napier: Conquest of Sind.
116. Colchester: History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough.

117. Hardinge: Viscount Hardinge.
118. Honingberg: Thirty-five years in the East.
119. Gough and Innes: The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars.
120. J. A. Baird: Private Letters of the Marquess of Lord Dalhousie
121. Bird: Docoitie in Excelsis.
122. Laurie: Our Burmese Wars and Relations with Burma.
123. Roberts: Letters written during the Great Mutiny.
124. Forbes-Mitchell: The Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny.
125. Forrest: Selections from the letters, despatches and other state-papers preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India.
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142. Montague: Speeches on Indian Questions.
143. Gokhale: Speeches.
144. Surendranath Banerjee: India in the Making.
145. Daiz: Indians Abroad.
146. Ray: C. R. Das—His Life and Times.
147. Ilbert: The Government of India.
148. Mukerjee: Indian Constitutional Documents.
149. Aitchison: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads.
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151. India in 1921-22, 1922-23, 1923-24, 1924-25, 1925-26, 1926-27
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154. The Simon Report.
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II. COMPILATION OF EXTRACTS FROM SOURCE-BOOKS

1. S. K. Iyengar: Hindu India from Original Sources.
2. Garrett: The Students' Source-Book of Indian History.
3. Lane-Poole: Medieval India from Contemporary Sources.
4. Hutton: New Readings from Indian History.
5. Keith: Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy.

6. Anderson and Subedar: The Expansion of British India.
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8. Payne: Scenes and Characters from Indian History.
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10. "Compiler": Documents and extracts illustrative of the British Period of Indian History.

APPENDIX D

THE DALTON PLAN

The Dalton Laboratory Plan is at present a vitalising force in teaching. Mrs. Parkhurst, the American educationist, originated it and gave it a trial in the Dalton High School and then in the Children's University School. Some of the schools in England and America then adopted the plan and, much to their astonishment and satisfaction, they found the results very gratifying.

The plan has now come to stay and it is slowly but surely revolutionising the educational system.

In a general way, it may be described as a system of educational reorganisation which aims at throwing the responsibility of the pupil's getting through his work more on himself than on his teacher.

It guarantees freedom for him to do his work in his own way and at his own rate of intellectual speed. It provides him with an opportunity to feel that he is a member of a society which contributes to his success and to which he has to contribute his quota of work. It gives him scope to develop his individuality.

Under this system, the teacher's business is more to watch and guide than to instruct. He sits in his subject room to preserve an atmosphere of study to assess the work done by the pupils, to explain their difficulties and to give them information as to how any bit of work or piece of apparatus is to be handled. He has no set-lessons to teach nor has he a class to address except on a few occasions when he may wish to say a few words by way of introduction to a new subject or he may give an oral lesson at the completion of the pupil's "contract" of work. More than this, he is not expected to do; to do more is to revolt against the very spirit of the scheme.

The pupil is thus thrown on his own salvation. Work is assigned to him for a month or about, and he is to do it within the allotted time. He may take advantage of the teacher's guidance or he may severely leave the teacher alone. It is enough if his work is approved by the teacher. He may work at one subject for any time he likes or he may busy himself with two or more subjects the same day. He may adjust his time according to his requirements. He need not leave the study of one subject at any particular hour. There will be no bell and no timetable to summon him to another class or to another subject. The pupil is free to tackle his subject in the way he likes best. All that is necessary is that he should complete his contract within the stated period.

To create a favourable atmosphere for the working of the plan, some mechanical devices are adopted.

One teacher is put in charge of one subject; his qualifications and his personal tastes are the criteria for his selection. If he is a specialist in history, he will not be asked to supervise the work in English; if he is good in English, he will not be in charge of the geography work.

This arrangement has its advantages both for the teacher and the pupil. The former, when he assumes responsibility for the subject he is best fitted to teach devotes himself to it; the study of the subject

develops his interest in it. Out of the latter, the zeal for imparting instruction is born. The pupil will thus have for his guide one to whom he may confidently appeal in all his difficulties and whose interest in the subject is never less than his own.

The creation of the subject laboratories is another device that is adopted to ensure the success of the scheme. A room is ear-marked for the study of a particular subject with the specialist in charge and with the available books and appliances pertaining to it placed therein. The necessary atmosphere and the facilities for the study of the subject are thus provided for.

The third device that is adopted is the drawing up of the assignments of work. On the skill shown in this matter does the success of the plan largely depend. Hence every care has to be taken to draw up the assignments in the right way.

What is an assignment then and how is a teacher to draw up an ideal one? The assignment is a brief statement of the nature and amount of work to be done by the pupil in a subject in a month's time. It is sub-divided into periods and units; the period outlines the week's work in the subject and the unit the day's work. For the year's work in the subject, the term 'contract' is used.

The drawing up of an assignment requires considerable skill and a sound knowledge of child psychology. The assignment must be so drawn as to create the pupil's interest in the subject to be studied. The directions for the work to be gone through must be full and definite.

To put the uninitiated teacher in the way, some formal arrangement is adopted, more for his guidance than for strict adherence. Under this arrangement, the topic for study is first mentioned. Then in a few well-chosen words, the study of the subject is introduced. References for reading and, after that, questions on the subject matter read follow suit. How much this work counts is then stated in terms of units; lastly, references for home-reading are given.

No less important a device than the drawing up of the assignments is the "check" system adopted wherever the plan is tried. The work has not only to be set, but whether it has been satisfactorily done or not has to be ascertained; otherwise the plan will get into disrepute and its success doubted. The "check" system has other advantages as well. It will be helpful to the teacher and the pupil alike; the teacher will get an idea as to the quantity of the work done by the pupil; the pupil will be in a position to measure his own progress by a reference to the graph-cards used to check the work.

There are three kinds of cards in general use. There is the pupil's graph-card to show his progress in the several subjects he works at. There is the instructor's graph-card to indicate the achievements of the class in the subject he is in charge. There is the class graph-card to measure the amount of work done in terms of units in all the subjects in the year.

The design of the cards is simple in the extreme and no difficulty will be felt in marking them. These cards can be had from the Educational Supply Association, Ltd., 40-44, Holburn Viaduct, E. C.